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PILGRIMS GOING TO CHURCH

SIX THOUSAND YEARS OF HISTORY

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AMERICAN HISTORY

FIRST PERIOD

DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION OF THE NEW WORLD

The traditions of nearly all the older nations of the world in describing the creation of land by the gods, tell of the fierce opposition of the sea, which is usually personified as a mighty demon or demi-god waging unsuccessful warfare against the new element. Some traces of these traditions lasted in the minds of most of the people of Europe until comparatively modern times. Long after philosophers had replaced myth with more reasonable theology, long after they were convinced that the earth was a sphere, there remained in the mind of the masses superstitious fears of terrible sea monsters who could devour the largest ships with ease. Even the map-makers decorated the unknown deep with pictures of the behemoth and leviathan, which were a terror to seamen.

This dread of the deep was not unreasonable in a primitive people whose strongest vessels were mere cockleshells. Nothing in nature is more awe-inspiring than the tempest-tossed deep and one can easily imagine the hardihood required of sailors who believed the sea to be controlled by the variable temper of their gods. Nevertheless it is not a little remarkable that the ancient nations which have left us such priceless heritages in the fine arts, the sciences, literature and philosophy, did so little in exploring the sea. Nearly all of ancient history

as it has come down to us deals with peoples about the Mediterranean. When the hardy sailors crept along the shores through the Strait of Gibraltar and thence to Britain, it was deemed a wonderful achievement and after this, aside from deeds of Norsemen, nothing of importance was discovered by sea from the days of Julius Cæsar to the Fifteenth Century.

The Norsemen, indeed, did settle Iceland and, later, Eric settled in Greenland before 1000 A. D., and in the latter year Leif the Lucky undoubtedly touched the New England coast, where apparently a brief settlement was made. It is difficult to separate the truth from fiction in the Norse sagas, but this much is accepted by scholars though it was unknown to Europe and finally forgotten by the Norsemen themselves. It had no practical effect upon the world and is now only of romantic interest. There came a time, however, when discovery was of practical use to Europe. The ancient cities of Venice and Genoa had grown rich by the trade with the East. Great caravans brought silks and spices and other luxuries thence overland to Mediterranean ports, which were carried to the Italian cities in ships and again sent overland to the cities of the North. This slow and expensive method of transportation might have long continued had not the conquering Turk seized on Constantinople and cut off every avenue of trade southward from Christian traffic. Then began men to look for an all-water route to India and China and Japan, of whose marvelous riches Marco Polo and other travelers had written with a wealth of adjectives that stirred the imagination and incited the cupidity of Christendom.

The leader of this movement was Portugal, under Henry the Navigator and John II. Their captains pushed southward, discovered the Azores and Canaries

and in time reached the Cape of Good Hope. This took many voyages, for each captain would go but a few miles further than his predecessor. In time the Cape was doubled and the road found to India, but this was after the discovery of the new world.

Christopher Columbus, or Colon, was a Genoese sailor, and for his time a man of some education. He believed with the learned scholars who had so taught for many centuries that the Earth was a sphere and that he could reach India by sailing directly west, though he thought the distance much shorter than it proved to be. This inspiration of his youth met no encouragement for many years, and it was not until past middle life, when hope was nearly gone, that Isabella, the Queen of Spain, finally gave him the aid he needed and the voyage was begun. Sailing in the caravels Nina, Pinta, and Santa Maria from Palos, in August, 1492, he refitted at the Canaries and started westward September 6th, on an unknown sea. Those familiar with the perils of the deep who saw the exact reproduction of these little vessels at the Chicago World's Fair, can well imagine the fears that filled the hearts of the sailors as they bore westward, to meet not only the storms, but the fabled monsters. That 100 men could have made the trip safely in such craft seems well nigh incredible. In those days distances at sea were estimated only, and Columbus kept back half the total each day in giving out his reckonings. His limit was passed when the voyage was half over, but he bore on in hope. The sailors, in mutiny, would have thrown him overboard had not land been discovered on October 12, and the goal of his ambition reached. It was a poor goal, for they found only a small island, not known definitely at this day, but one of the Bahamas, where the frightened natives

crouched in awe before their supposed heavenly visitors. Pushing on to Cuba and back to Hispaniola (Hayti) little gold was found, but Columbus returned home to tell the truth and very much more than the truth about the "new islands off the Coast of India."

The Spanish imagination and cupidity were now aroused. In 1493 Columbus set sail with seventeen ships and 1,500 men, to bring back the riches of the Orient. And now the truth began to come out. The colonists found little gold and maltreated the poor natives. Wars and pestilence broke out and Columbus was denounced in Spain. Accordingly, he was ordered home in disgrace, but matters were patched up, and in May, 1498, he set forth on his third expedition and discovered the mainland of South America, and then pressed on to Hayti, where matters had gone from bad to worse. Columbus was sent home in chains, but the people were moved to pity; Isabella relented and restored him to his honors. In 1502 he set out on his last voyage. He had no idea that he had discovered a new world. He knew now that he had not reached India, but believed he could find a passage somewhere. He failed, and, treated with contumely at Hayti, he returned home, to find Isabella dead, and he soon died a disappointed man. His bones have traveled twice across the Atlantic, if the Spaniards are correct. They were sent to Hayti, thence to Havana, and, if the bones are his, they now repose in Spain once more and constitute the best and only tie that binds Spain with her former Empire in America.

Over the familiar history of early exploration we pass rapidly. John Cabot and his son Sebastian (probably), Italian sailors in the employ of Henry VII of England, in 1497 sailed westward and reached the North American coast at a point unknown. The next year

they made another voyage, but finding neither gold nor prospect of wealth, returned home, and for a long time the English took no interest in the subject, particularly as Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese navigator, had doubled Africa in 1498 and found India sure enough. Another Italian from Florence appears on the scene, who is of particular interest because his name has attached to all of the new world. Americus Vespucius, who made a voyage as a passenger to Hayti in 1497-8, was a merchant, astronomer and navigator, who wrote charmingly of the new world. He made a second voyage in 1499 in a Spanish ship, and then transferred his services to Portugal. By this time the Portuguese were anxious for some of the new territory. To prevent disputes, a rule, sanctioned by the Pope, was agreed on which gave to the Spanish all west of a meridian 370 leagues west of Cape de Verde, and to the Portuguese all east of that meridian. In 1500, the Portuguese fleet, sailing for India, went so far west as to light on what is now Brazil. This was in Portuguese territory and was ruled by the Portuguese until the present century, and by a Portuguese Emperor until the last decade of it. Vespucius visited Brazil and wrote an account of the country. The Germans first called the country America, after the explorer, and the name has lasted to the present day. It was not until 1517 that the Portuguese sailed on from India to China, and then it was certain that the Spanish had been nowhere near the country. The hope of a passageway, however, was not given up. Balboa had crossed the isthmus of Darien in 1513, and beheld the Pacific, but found no passage. In 1519 Ferdinand Magellan started out on what proved to be the most famous voyage in history up to that time. Sailing down the coast of South America he found the strait that

bears his name, passed into the Pacific, and after almost unheard of perils reached the Philippine Islands, where he was killed. One of his ships kept on and finally reached home in 1522, after circumnavigating the earth. It is of interest that in 1898 we drove Spain from the West Indies she first discovered in the new world, and also from the Philippines, the last discovery of the period, to which Spain soon fell heir and which were for years a dependency of Mexico.

This practically ends the period of discovery. The Spaniards and Portuguese were the pioneers, but they thirsted for gold rather than empire. In almost superhuman campaigns Spanish arms conquered Mexico and Peru, and gained a foothold that lasted 300 years, during which time the conquerors did little to develop the resources of the country. They drained the lands of their wealth and sent them to Spain, while little more than a semblance of civilization was maintained in the dependencies outside the chief cities.

The Spanish did not give up North America altogether, though little gold was found. Explorations northward from Mexico disclosed a rich country, the remarkable cities of the Zuñis and Moquis, but still no gold. Fernando de Soto, Governor of Cuba, inflamed by stories of the mainland, invaded Florida in 1539, and after incredible hardships reached the Mississippi, only to die and find burial in its bosom. Still no gold. Ponce de Leon sought the fountain of eternal youth, but found it not. After this, interest lagged, and it was not until 1565 that a permanent settlement was made at St. Augustine, Florida.

The French now appear on the scene, not as explorers at first, but as fishermen. Cabot had noted the abundance of codfish off the Grand Banks; soon French

and Portuguese vessels began to fish there, and the former have never abandoned the locality, much to the present regret of the people of Newfoundland. In 1521 war broke out between France and Spain. French cruisers went to America to intercept the Spanish galleons laden with gold from Mexico and Peru. They got some of the gold and explored the northern coast, and did no more until Jacques Cartier, in 1534, sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as the present site of Montreal, but it was many years before a permanent settlement was made.

So far North America had been visited frequently, but was esteemed of little value because it contained little or no gold. Not a settlement was made until seventy years after the first discovery of Columbus, and its end was tragic. A colony of Huguenots settled near Port Royal, in what is now South Carolina, in 1562. It was making the best of a hard struggle, when Menendez, a Spaniard, came over from St. Augustine in 1565 and massacred the Huguenots, few escaping of the 700 men and women and children. This was the beginning of European wars in America. In 1568 the French took their revenge by massacring every Spaniard that could be found in Florida. The Spaniards, however, held on to Florida with slight lapses until the present century, but, as usual, did little toward developing the country.

The beginning of real colonization was made by the French. In 1604 Port Royal, Nova Scotia, was settled. In 1608 Champlain founded Quebec, and thereafter the French were the most active explorers in America for nearly two centuries. The French explorers and missionaries, Marquette, Joliet and La Salle, sailed up the Great Lakes, down the Mississippi and explored all its

branches. In a comparatively short time they had explored the whole of the immense Mississippi basin between the Rocky Mountains and the Appalachian chain, and laid claim to it in the name of their King. There are many thriving cities in this region still bearing the original French names. The French got along well with the Indians, except the Iroquois, and rapidly extended their trade in furs, to which the Hudson's Bay Company fell heir and control to this day. But outside of Lower Canada, the French made few permanent settlements. They were then, as now, poor colonizers.

It is interesting to note that the Spaniards and Portuguese did most of the work of discovery by sea, but failed as administrators on land, while their colonies never became truly prosperous. The French were the most noted explorers on land, and as administrators they succeeded beyond any other nation until driven out by the English. The English did practically no work of discovery or exploration, but in colonizing they outstripped all competitors. It is the history of the English colonies and their successors that concerns this narrative.

The English were quite as anxious for gold and other good things of earth as the Spaniards, but they were more conservative in their views. They could not see gold in sand dunes and went at the subject more cautiously. They found it more profitable to steal negroes in Africa and sell them to the Spanish in America for gold, thus developing a fine trade in which Queen Elizabeth is said to have shared. This trade was broken up by the war between Spain and England. In 1588 Philip II sent his "invincible armada" against his sister-in-law, only to have it scattered to the winds or the bottom of the sea by Howard and Drake. This was the beginning

of the decline of Spain, which had been the most powerful nation in Europe. And now the English drove a nice trade in capturing Spanish galleons in American waters, and even along the coasts of Spain, so that England got her share of gold with very little work, but a good deal of excitement of a kind that was then in high favor. The English now began that control of the seas which has never failed her. Drake circumnavigated the globe and added new laurels to the crown of the Virgin Queen, who now set up a claim to most of North America. Sir Walter Raleigh, one of her courtiers, founded a colony on Roanoke Island in 1584, and here was born Virginia Dare, the first white child of English parents on American soil. The colony failed, though it is believed some of the whites were carried off to Western North Carolina, where an Indian tribe exists to-day that claims partial descent from them. Raleigh gave up his schemes, and after Elizabeth's death got into trouble with King James, and was beheaded. Permanent settlement was effected by corporations known as the London and Plymouth Companies. These had a charter which gave the colonists all the political and civil rights and privileges of Englishmen; established government through a council appointed by the King, who was to have one-fifth of all the gold and silver found in the new country. King James was a master hand at a bargain and he loved gold. The London Company was to have the southern part of the country, the Plymouth Company the northern part, while the middle ground, from the present city of New York to the mouth of the Potomac, was to be open to both, and both grants went across to the Pacific in defiance of the claims of other nations. Both companies sent colonies in 1607. That of the Plymouth Company failed completely, and that of the London Com-

pany narrowly escaped the same fate. The latter expedition was composed of about 100 persons, of whom one half were "gentlemen" who came out to grow rich on the country. They laid out a village in 1607, called it Jamestown, and sat down waiting for wealth to come to them. One can only think of the babes in the wood. The food soon gave out, the Indians were hostile, sickness developed, and it soon appeared that nothing but extermination would be their lot. It was due to John Smith that anyone was saved alive. In spite of his ordinary name, Smith, if we can believe his own story, was one of the most remarkable men of his own or any other age, having defied death in many lands. In Virginia he forged to the front as a leader and saved the colony, though his life was nearly ended at the hands of the Indians, who captured him. We are told that Pocahontas, daughter of the chief, saved his life, and Smith got back to Jamestown in safety. In two years 500 more colonists came out, but they were poor material for the purpose. The last thing anyone seemed to want was work. As nature would not provide for them they decided to go home, and had actually started, when, in 1610, Lord Delaware arrived with supplies and a commission as Governor. Delaware soon left and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Dale, who finally made the colony self-supporting, largely by cultivating tobacco, which had now become known and desired in Europe. There are those who think the tobacco habit is a vice, but one wonders what would have become of this early colony but for the weed, or what would eventually have become of the whole country. It is probable that colonization would have been retarded and that slavery would never have gained a strong foothold, as its principal use was in tobacco culture, which was profitable enough to support

more than the cultivator. In New England, where it was about all a man could do to make a living for himself, slavery never became general.

Largely owing to tobacco culture Virginia grew prosperous under the wise government of Dale, who put down lawlessness and drove the people to work. Up to this time all the lands and goods were held in common, which discouraged individual effort. Dale changed this. The land was divided up and taxes levied for the support of the colony, which in a few years was in a most excellent condition. Farmers and many of the gentry came over from England to seize opportunities impossible at home. Twelve years after the colony was founded there were 4,000 white persons in Virginia and a considerable number of negro slaves. Cheap labor was desirable because the lands were to be cleared and tobacco raised. The first negroes came from a Dutch man-of-war, but slavery was not restricted by color. White persons, usually the scum of the cities, as well as criminals, were sent over by shiploads. The white slaves usually worked for a term of years only, but the negroes were kept in perpetual bondage, and as the domain grew, African coasts were despoiled of the natives to be given "Christian homes" in Virginia. It was the belief of the best men of the time that the ultimate good of the negro and the cause of Christianity were furthered by this process. The negro's feelings were not consulted.

The beginning of self-government in America was in 1619. The colonists were divided into eleven settlements, which were known as boroughs, and it was necessary that some form of government be devised for the colony as a whole and for defining the relations of the boroughs to each other. If the settlers had been Spaniards or Frenchmen or Italians, no initiative would have

been taken; but wherever members of the great Teutonic family of nations meet, there is an instinctive movement toward regulation of public affairs. The Angles and Jutes and Saxons had such regulation back in the barbaric days in the European forests. That spirit crossed over and became dominant in England, and was tempered by Roman jurisprudence imported with the Normans at the Conquest. It is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race and those who have assimilated with it, that the individual takes strong ground on his private rights, but acknowledges his duties to others. In regulating these, government is brought into being. The colonists petitioned the London Company for a representative government, which was cheerfully granted. The first meeting of two delegates from each borough constituting the House of Burgesses met July 30, 1619. This seems to us such a natural and ordinary proceeding that it is hard to understand the dissatisfaction of King James over the matter. There was a representative government in England, and the colonists had been granted liberal concessions in their charter, which, as stated, gave them the rights, privileges, and immunities of English citizens, but King James objected to such a liberal construction. The London Company, which had been for a time in a bad way financially, had suddenly become prosperous and its stockholders had rosy expectations. If James had been a man of common sense he would have fostered the colony to his utmost extent, but, unfortunately, he lacked that very necessary qualification. He was a Scotchman—a foreigner—who had an exalted idea of his abilities in every line of intellectual effort, from theology to trade, and he had the unhappy faculty of making enemies of those he should have cultivated. It came about that most of the members of the London

Company were his political opponents, and to punish them for opposition to the Lord's Anointed, he succeeded in having the charter annulled on fictitious charges. The Lord's Anointed was now about to make a complete code of laws for the colony when he died and Charles the First ascended the throne. That was an evil day for all concerned. Charles was worse than James for England and Virginia, but fortunately for the latter matters at home occupied most of his attention. He reigned for twenty-four years, and so badly that the patient, long suffering English citizens could stand it no longer and he was beheaded in 1649. Charles ruled Virginia through Governors of his own appointment. As he was hard up for money all the time he looked upon Virginia as an asset of large possibilities. One of his Governors, John Harvey, acted so outrageously that the Virginians took matters into their own hands and deposed him. They were no better off, however, when William Berkeley came over to govern. Berkeley was a many-sided man of good abilities and some genius. He belonged to the King's party and believed in the divine right of Kings to govern any way they pleased. As democracy was opposed to the King and the King was the Lord's Anointed, Berkeley had no sort of use for the Virginia ideas of self-government, which he thwarted in every way he could. His conduct was suddenly tempered by the beheading of his royal master, and during Cromwell's Protectorate the House of Burgesses elected their own Governors. There had been no particular animosity in Virginia toward King Charles, and, indeed, the colonies were always loyal until they were repulsed by ill-advised acts of their Sovereigns. During the Protectorate England was not a particularly pleasant place of residence for many of the late King's party, who were

chiefly the nobility and gentry. Virginia offered a good opening to these and emigration was steady for many years. These gentry brought over intelligence, education, culture, and ideas which have dominated Virginia more or less to the present day.

When Charles II got his throne Berkeley was rechosen Governor by the Burgesses as a sort of sop to the King. This was a mistake they soon rued. Berkeley kept the same House of Burgesses in session for fourteen years, gave away public lands and did about as he pleased until the people rose in revolt because they were not even protected from the savages. Nathaniel Bacon, the first "American Rebel," tried to suppress the Indians, but Berkeley feared that in case of success he would be attacked himself and so got into one row after another until the people were utterly disgusted with him and burned Jamestown. When finally a new House of Burgesses was elected a remonstrance was sent to the King. While Bacon lived he kept the Governor forcibly in check but he died all too soon and Berkeley wreaked his vengeance in quite a royal manner by hanging a score or more of "rebels"; but this was too much for the merry Charles, who ordered him home in disgrace.

The enterprise of the London Company had proved successful as a colonizing effort for in some sixty-five years there were upwards of 40,000 self-supporting white people in Virginia. The Plymouth Company did not fare so well at first. Their first effort at a colony was a complete failure. They settled in Maine but one winter was enough and the survivors came home and it was some years before another effort was made to found a colony. In fact when the effort was made it was not by people in England, but English people in Holland. In these days it is such a settled principle with us that every man may worship God

according to the dictates of his own conscience that it seems absurd that any other idea ever prevailed anywhere. Yet in Spanish colonies the reverse was the rule, if not the absolute practice, even in 1898.

The frequent changes in the throne of England led the people a difficult religious chase. When Henry VIII broke with the Pope, the Established Church, in modification of Romanism, was set up. When Mary succeeded the youthful Edward VI Catholicism was restored, but under Elizabeth the church of Henry VIII was restored, with a liberal liturgy and toleration practiced. James was a Scotch Presbyterian in theory but a good many other things in practice. Charles restored the ritualism of the Established Church and cared little for religion save as it affected his prerogatives. All these changes boded ill for the spiritual life of the Church and in protest arose the great movement known as Puritanism, which looked to a simplification of the service and a purification of the Church. This movement began within the Church, as did Methodism at a later date. In addition to these there was an independent movement of those who no longer believed it possible to purify the Established Church and so separated from it much as Luther and his followers had left the Roman Catholic Church. The movement in Germany had a great influence upon English thought but the English authorities were in no mood to permit such independence as the Separatists desired. In consequence they were persecuted to such an extent that John Robinson, pastor of the Scrooby congregation in Nottinghamshire, led his flock over to Holland, where perfect religious toleration was practiced. In the thrifty Dutch town of Leyden the Pilgrims learned much that was valuable in later years. Here the inherent English principle of love of country manifested itself once

more. The Pilgrims were contented but did not want to become Dutchmen. The alternative was to go to America. They got the permission of the London Company to settle in the middle part of America, which was open to both companies. Then they tried to get a charter from the King but James was just then worried over the Virginia movement for self government and refused, but offered no opposition to their going. The Pilgrims sailed in the Speedwell from Delftshaven in July, 1620, for Southampton where they met the Mayflower that was to take some of their Nottinghamshire friends. Two false starts were made because the Speedwell leaked and finally the Mayflower went on alone with most of the Speedwell's passengers. It took from the 16th of September to November 21 to reach America, and instead of getting to the neighborhood of New Jersey, they were off Cape Cod. After exploring the coast for some distance they concluded to land and send back to the Plymouth Company for permission to make a settlement. There were just one hundred passengers and the outlook was as unpromising as one could imagine. Just why they did not go on to New Jersey is not fully known. The men drew up a compact in the cabin of the Mayflower for the government of the colony and elected John Carver Governor. This was the first attempt to found a colony in America without any royal sanction. The landing on the "rock" was made December 21, 1620, and the place was named Plymouth because it appeared to be near the spot so marked on a map by the redoubtable John Smith, who had explored the region. It was a bitter cold winter and the people suffered terribly. Governor Carver and more than half the Pilgrims died before spring. Well might the remainder have gone home in despair, but they sent the Mayflower back and stayed on under the wise administra-

tion of William Bradford. The good harvest of the first year was celebrated by the institution of the now National festival of Thanksgiving. They were generally at peace with the Indians and when they were not Captain Miles Standish soon brought the natives to terms. In eight years the colony had grown but to 300 when events took place which changed the whole situation. Much has been written in song and story of the Pilgrim Fathers, legion are the families claiming descent from them, while the furniture devoutly believed to have come over in the Mayflower would fill a modern steamer. There was about these early settlers an earnestness, thrift, and conscientiousness that was not so generally met with in the earliest settlers of Virginia. The Pilgrims struggled long and hard for a bare existence while the Virginians soon grew rich. The Virginians raised tobacco and the Pilgrims raised men which was about all the soil could support. The Pilgrim or Separatist movement in colonization, however, was a small one. Charles I was in difficulties, and having that series of contentions with his subjects that increased his enemies until they overpowered him. Some of the Puritans concluded to go over to America to find a place where they could worship God to suit themselves without interference. This was not a movement for religious toleration. The Puritans believed in the infallibility of their beliefs as much as the Catholics did in theirs. The Puritans sought a place to exploit their own religious ideas. It was easy to get a grant from the Plymouth Company and Charles I even gave them a charter incorporating the Company of Massachusetts Bay. The provisions were liberal, providing for a Governor and a Council to be elected by the colonists and any laws were permitted which were in harmony with those of England. This company at first had its headquarters in England and sent over

its first colonists in 1628, but in 1630 took the decisive step of moving its headquarters to America. In that year John Winthrop came over with about 1,000 persons and settled in the neighborhood of the present city of Boston and in the next ten years some 20,000 more came. This wholesale immigration soon made the settlement important, but the people had to work hard to make a living, as the soil was poor and the winters long and cold. Usually the people divided up into parishes around a Church and these became the first political divisions. As the movement was based on religious convictions the new government was a mixture of democracy and theocracy. Each parish or town chose its local officers, its representatives to a general Court or Assembly, but the religious view predominated everywhere. The clergyman was a man of authority, supported by tithes and respected by all. The laws were generally in strict conformity with the Hebrew Scriptures so far as Sabbath-breaking was concerned. Only Church members could vote and it was made very unpleasant for those who did not belong to the orthodox Church. The Puritans were now Separatists, for though in doctrine they made no change, they eschewed the forms and denied the authority of the Anglican Church. Out of this situation arose the town meeting, the purest democracy in existence which has lasted to this day. It was a return to the folk-moot of ages agone, but it proved a mighty power for good in New England. When every man knew the public business, corruption was difficult. It is worth noting that by 1636 the colony was so far advanced that Harvard College was established, chiefly to prepare young men for the ministry.

In spite of religious zeal the colony had its share of difficulties and disasters. There were troubles in the colony and in England where personal jealousies were

aroused, and the King's disfavor created by the independent religious movement. The internal difficulties for a time were most important. The Puritans were as intolerant of others' religious views as were the Anglicans at home. Great was their indignation therefore to find one of their own clergymen, Roger Williams, declare that their policy was all wrong, that Church and State should be separated and no man punished for matters of conscience. Whereupon Mr. Williams was immediately ordered to go back to England. Instead of obeying, he set off through the woods and lived among the Narragansett Indians and established a town which he called Providence in the present State of Rhode Island. The next to interfere with the religious views of the Massachusetts Bay people was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. She started theological discussions that set the whole colony by the ears and she left the place by request. Taking some adherents she settled in Rhode Island, and after a while all the neighboring settlements formed a single colony known as Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, which was the name until within a few years. The conservatism of the people is shown by the fact that to this day Rhode Island, least in territory of the States, has two capitals.

A new colony was founded by Captain John Mason near Portsmouth, New Hampshire, while Sir Ferdinando Gorges settled a few people on the Maine coast. These men were friends of the King and had meditated breaking up the Massachusetts Bay colony but failed. Mason's people got into a dispute with Massachusetts over territory but finally joined the latter colony; in 1679 Charles II set them off as a new royal colony of New Hampshire. The settlements in Maine were small for many years and they also were taken in by Massachusetts. The Plymouth settlement was entirely independent all this time and in

1636 it entered upon some expansion on its own account. A company of settlers sailed up the Connecticut river and settled the towns of Windsor and Wethersfield near where Hartford now stands in spite of the Dutch claims to the territory. The son of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts built Saybrook at the mouth of the river to keep out the Dutch. By this time there was another schism in Massachusetts Bay over the question of the election franchise. Under the leadership of Thomas Hooker, who was a pure democrat, as opposed to the more aristocratic portion who believed that wealth, intelligence, and the clergy should rule. The settlements around Hartford were greatly increased and a new colony set up on more democratic principles. In 1638 a new colony from England under the leadership of the Rev. John Davenport came out to settle a colony which should be governed by the Bible alone in all matters both temporal and spiritual. These settled at New Haven, Milford, Guilford, and Stamford, and formed the New Haven colony. In later years the colonies of Hartford and New Haven were joined as the colony of Connecticut and Plymouth joined with Massachusetts Bay. The eastern settlements had suffered more or less from the Indians but the Connecticut valley colonists now had a taste of what the Indian could do when aroused to fury. The Pequots ravaged the settlements and committed many murders. In 1637 the settlers and Indian allies surprised the Pequots near Stonington and almost exterminated them. Then there was peace for many years.

The first attempt at colonial union was in 1643 when the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven banded together under the style "The United Colonies of New England," purely for defense against the Indians. Rhode Island and Provi-

dence Plantations were not wanted for religious reasons, but as the latter were on good terms with the Narragansett Indians they did not worry much about the matter.

Having put down the Indians the Massachusetts people were now in a position to look more closely after home matters. The latest sect to interfere with their religious views were the Quakers or Friends. Now it is an historic fact that the Quakers are and have been the mildest people in Christendom. They do not believe in war, pay strict attention to their own affairs and are generally a lovable sort of people. Some of these came to Massachusetts and began to preach their doctrines. Now it is true that the law did not permit this and the Quakers should have stayed away unless they were looking for trouble. They found it soon enough. There was quite a settlement of them in Rhode Island where they were not molested, but when they insisted on going into Massachusetts they were ordered home. In 1659 two of those who returned to Massachusetts were hanged. In 1660 a woman was hanged and the next year a man suffered the same fate. But this cruelty brought about a reaction and instead of being hanged the Quakers were only beaten and imprisoned until finally they gained the toleration they sought. Charles II ordered that Quakers should be sent to England for punishment, but no attention was paid to it.

About this time there existed around Salem, Mass., a delusion concerning witchcraft which led away the ablest men of the place. On the slightest pretext a number of persons were hanged on a charge of witchcraft. A reaction soon set in, but for its intolerance in this as well as other religious matters, Massachusetts long suffered in the eyes of the world.

And now came the only serious Indian war in this section. There was no love lost between the Indians and the

whites. The latter had no respect for the natives and undoubtedly provoked them greatly. In spite of the efforts of the first Indian missionary, John Eliot, there came a time to decide between the two races on the field of battle. Philip, chief of the Wampanoags, joined by the Narragansetts and Nipmucks, began raids on the settlers in 1675, who gathered to resist, destroyed Philip and a thousand of his braves, and eventually the Indians were almost driven out of New England. This is known as King Philip's war.

And now New England, which had been left pretty much alone by the Crown, was to have its share of troubles. New Hampshire was made a royal colony. Maine was taken from Massachusetts and finally, owing to the stubborness of the Massachusetts people in refusing to allow anyone but members of the orthodox or Congregationalist Church to vote, the King in 1684 annulled the charter. This was a cruel and arbitrary act, yet not without some justice, for the Massachusetts people were exceedingly bigoted and their laws were certainly oppressive and often cruel. Charles II had much more reason for his act than had his grandfather for revoking the Virginia settlement's charter. Charles II was not a bad man at heart and he might have brought about a better state of things in the colonies, but he died suddenly, and his brother, James II, of Roman Catholic sympathies, came to the throne. The change proved to be a bad one for the colonists. James sent over Sir Edmond Andros as Viceroy of all New England, which then included New York and New Jersey. If he had been the right sort of man much good could have been accomplished, but he proved the reverse. He undertook to destroy the charter of Connecticut, but it was hidden in an oak tree, and he failed to find it. He had no better success in Rhode Island, but he

settled down in Boston and began to rule with a high hand. He established the service of the Anglican or Episcopal Church, and built King's Chapel. There could be no reasonable objection to this, but it caused great opposition among the orthodox Congregationalists. Then he went further. He refused to allow the Legislatures of the colonies to meet, but assessed whatever taxes he wanted, and forcibly collected them. In short, he ruled with as high a hand as Berkeley in Virginia, and with the same result. There would have been a rebellion had not James II been driven from the throne. Massachusetts got her charter back, but Episcopalians were allowed to vote, and the Governor was appointed by the Crown. The King gave to Massachusetts not only Maine, but Nova Scotia and the Plymouth Colony. After this there was comparative quiet in New England for a long time. The royal Governors usually succeeded in getting into hot water, but it was long ere there was an open outbreak. The little Confederacy of New England also fell to pieces largely because Andros had tried hard to make them get closer together. The French settlements in Canada were a menace to New England as France and England were at war much of the time. But Andros had so enraged the Colonists that they were ready to veto anything he wanted, no matter how desirable it might be for themselves. When one reads the history of other colonies by other nations one is struck with the independent spirit of the Americans at a time when they were few in numbers and feeble in power. The atmosphere of the New World was not only unfavorable to tyranny, but it developed a spirit that was in the main an advantage, but not without its darker shadows. It is in strong contrast with the meek spirit of the French, browbeaten by their Governors, or

the indolent Spaniards in the South, who robbed much, worked as little as possible and enjoyed their ease. So far we have considered but two sections in the new world, but by the time New England colonies got back their liberties from William III and Mary, in 1691, there were many more English settlements in America.

The Carolinas, or what was originally Carolina, named in honor of Charles II, had first been settled by the Huguenots, whom the Spanish massacred. About 1653 settlers from Virginia located on the Roanoke, and ten years later came Englishmen from the West Indies. In 1663 Charles granted a charter to some of his friends and settlements were made, the leading one being at Charleston. Owing to the distance between the settlements there was often one Governor in the North and one in the South, and thus the distinction arose. It proved a bad investment for the proprietors who gave back their charter to the King in 1729, and two royal colonies were erected.

We have so far neglected the Dutch settlements, which were unimportant in themselves, but have had a lasting effect on our history. Henry Hudson was one of the most daring explorers of the period. In 1609 he started out to find a route to India. He sailed up the Delaware, which he called the South River, and up the Hudson, which he called the North River (as it is called in New York City to this day). Going up as far as Albany, he found there was no passage. Later he discovered the bay which bears his name. The Dutch were great traders, and immediately assumed possession of the country they had found, and opened a trade with the Indians for furs. They built forts on the Delaware and the Connecticut, but their settlements were along the Hudson. In 1638 some Swedes and disaffected Dutch

settled on the Delaware where Wilmington now stands, and for a time were prosperous. But in 1655 Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of New Netherlands, as all the Dutch possessions were called, came from New Amsterdam (New York) and besieged the Swedes, claiming all the land under Hudson's discoveries. A bloodless war ensued, the Swedes surrendered and the Empire of New Sweden fell. The thrifty Dutch soon grew prosperous and aroused the jealousies of the English, who suddenly remembered that Cabot had discovered the country. Accordingly Charles II sent over a fleet, in 1664, which conquered the Dutch, and their territory was given to the King's brother, the Duke of York (afterward James II) and named in his honor New York. James gave what is now New Jersey to a couple of his friends, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, who divided it into East and West Jersey (distinctions which still remain), Berkeley getting the latter. This he sold in 1674 to a colony of Quakers, and Carteret disposed of East Jersey to William Penn in 1676. But early in the Eighteenth Century the proprietors gave up their title, and New Jersey became a royal province.

The colony of Maryland had a remarkable history. It was founded by George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, as a place of refuge for the Catholics in England who were denied civil rights and persecuted for their religion. Charles I gave him a slice of Virginia, from the mouth of the Potomac to the latitude of 40 degrees north, running back to the source of the Potomac. The proprietor was the court of final resort, and the charter was liberal, but before it was issued Lord Baltimore died and was succeeded by his son, who founded the colony named Maryland, in honor of the Queen. This Lord Baltimore established religious toleration, and from the

start in 1634 it was prosperous until 1691. William III revoked the charter, and laws against Catholics were revived. In 1716 the colony was restored to Baltimore's heirs, but thereafter constant disputes arose with Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Delaware over boundaries, which in the end resulted in the establishment of the present Constitution of the United States.

William Penn now concluded to make a settlement in America. His father had been an English Admiral and the Crown owed him money. As Charles II was a poor paymaster, Penn proposed to settle for a grant of land in America. Accordingly he was granted all the country north of Maryland, west of the Jerseys, and south of New York, practically as the State exists today. It was the Merry Monarch who named the new colony and gave it a liberal charter. In order to get near the seacoast Penn bought the three counties on the Delaware (now the State of that name) from the Duke of York, although they really belonged to Lord Baltimore. In 1682 Penn came over to see the colony founded the year before, and made that treaty with the Indians which was never broken, paying them for the land he took. The dispute with Maryland over the boundary line was finally settled by the survey of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, and this is the origin of the "line" that for many years separated freedom from slavery in the East. It also gave the popular name of "Dixie" to the South.

The last settlement was not made until 1732, when James Oglethorpe secured a charter from George II for a colony named in his honor. Primarily this was to be a refuge for prisoners for debt, but the colony soon had a considerable population of thrifty people and slaves who grew rice and the indigo plant with profit. The

Spanish in the South were troublesome neighbors for almost a century, until Florida passed into our possession.

This is in brief the story of the founding of the English colonies in America. From the accession of William and Mary to that of George III the American colonists had little to complain of so far as England was concerned. The colonies throve, and emigration poured in from many parts of Europe. The Germans swarmed into Pennsylvania, where the rich lands were quickly taken up. The Huguenots went to the Carolinas. There were Scotch-Irish in Southern Pennsylvania and Virginia, who pushed back into the mountains, where their descendants in West Virginia and Kentucky to-day keep up family feuds as in the days of the rivalries of Scottish clans made memorable in song and story. The wave of immigration has crossed the Appalachian chain, the Rocky Mountains, and the Sierra Nevadas, yet in no section of our country has education and civilization made so little progress as in the mountains south of Pennsylvania, where the Seventeenth Century conditions exist almost undisturbed.

The colonies, however, gained a great deal of their population by the redemption system. Europeans without passage money were brought to this country, and their services sold for a term of years, to recoup expenses. These Redemptioners, largely from Germany, were thrifty farmers, who soon became among the most valuable citizens. When Washington needed artillerists, they were found among these Germans, who had been trained at home.

But a real danger menaced the colonists by the aggressions of the French, who laid claim to all the territory drained by the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence.

The colonies usually laid claim under their charters to all the territory running to the Pacific, completely overlapping all of the French claims except in parts of Canada. These conflicting claims brought about little friction until the French began to erect a chain of forts from Lake Erie to where Pittsburg now stands, at the mouth of the Mississippi, and at points along the Great Lakes. At the mouth of the St. Lawrence forts were built at Port Royal and Louisburg, while Quebec and Montreal were strongly fortified. In 1690 England and France indulged in their usual pastime of fighting each other, and the colonists took up the struggle for King William, for whom the war was named, as against the pretensions of James II, the ally of Louis XIV. The French decided to drive the English out of New York, and Count Frontenac was sent over to do the job. He was a many-sided man of great resources, and might have accomplished his purposes but for one consideration. The French were friends to the Algonquin family of Indians, who occupied most of the northern part of the country, but the latter were deadly enemies of the Iroquois, better known now as the Six Nations (then but five), who occupied all of central and northern New York. These Iroquois were friendly to the English, and acted as a barrier against the French which the latter could never cross until destroyed. The Iroquois invaded Canada on their own account in 1689, before Frontenac was ready to move, and created great havoc. The next year the French and their allies made raids on the English frontier, massacred most of the people at Schenectady, and wasted villages in Maine and New Hampshire. This inhuman warfare was kept up for seven years. As the French grew bolder they ravaged the most settled parts of the colonies until the colonists were wild with

rage. Two descents were made on Canada without effect, for Frontenac was a master hand at war. The latter invaded New York and temporarily broke the power of the Iroquois and might have taken New York but in 1697 the war was ended by the Peace of Ryswick. In four years, however, the Kings were at it again, with Spain as an ally of France. William was dead, Anne reigned, and the colonists called this war after her. The French and Indians once more descended on the colonists and committed frightful ravages, particularly at Deerfield and Haverhill, Mass. In the previous war the colonists had unaided captured Port Royal, but it was given up at the peace. With a little English help they now attacked Port Royal once more, and captured the whole of Acadia, to which they gave the name of Nova Scotia. Another attack on Quebec failed, but a combined French and Spanish attack on Charleston failed also. Most of the horrors of this war were on the frontier, where the savages behaved with the greatest cruelty, aided or incited by the French. The Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, ended Queen Anne's War, and the colonists had the satisfaction of seeing their conquest of Nova Scotia confirmed to the English. The French, however, had no idea of surrendering any portion of their magnificent territory in the Mississippi Valley, known as New France. They continued fortifying it until another war was inevitable. Virginia took the lead in opposing them, for her territory, and that of New York and Pennsylvania, was directly threatened by the French forts at Niagara, Presque Isle (Erie), Le Bœuf (Waterford, Pa.), and Venango (Franklin, Pa.), while others were under way. Governor Dinwiddie, just as is usual for a Briton, first made a remonstrance. A formal document was drawn up to explain Virginia's

rights in the premises and despatched by George Washington, just of age, who was already known as a young man of great courage, judgment, and self-reliance, and who was Adjutant-General of the militia. Washington made the perilous journey in midwinter, found the French on the Ohio, below what is now Pittsburg, examined carefully into all the French were doing, and delivered the letter. This was referred in due form to the Governor of Canada, and Washington came home. This was practically a signal to get ready for war. There was a corporation known as the Ohio Company in which Dinwiddie was interested, which had a grant from the King of land along the Ohio, where the French were now at work. Troops were now rushed to the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela where they form the Ohio, and began to build a fort, but were driven away by the Indians. The French completed it, and named it Fort Duquesne. Dinwiddie, without hearing of this, raised a regiment, of which Washington was made Lieutenant-Colonel, and despatched it to the Ohio. Washington started first with a detachment, and on the way learned of what had happened at Duquesne. Instead of retreating, he pushed on to Great Meadows, and built Fort Necessity, stopping work to utterly annihilate a body of French who came into the neighborhood. The French and Indians retaliated. Washington was besieged, and, surrendering July 4, 1754, marched back to Virginia with the honors of war. The last great struggle for domination of the Continent was now on, and both sides made great preparations. Major-General Braddock came over from England with regular soldiers, and advanced on Fort Duquesne. In spite of Washington's warnings, he pressed on in regular order, and at Braddock's, near Fort Duquesne, his forces were

assaulted and cut to pieces by the French and Indians, Braddock receiving a mortal wound. Sadly Washington led the remnant of the mighty expedition back to Virginia. Better success attended the struggle in the North, for Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, was taken after a desperate battle. Then the French began in earnest. Montcalm commanded the French forces with rare skill. He captured Oswego and made allies of the Iroquois (now including the Tuscaroras) and seemed able to crush the colonies. The English Government now found out that this was to be a serious war, and made preparations accordingly. It was due to the genius of William Pitt that the struggle was carried on successfully for the colonists. Washington captured Fort Duquesne, which was now called Fort Pitt, and later Pittsburg. Fort Frontenac was captured, and Louisburg, the greatest fortress in America, fell into the hands of the colonists. An attack was now made on Canada by way of Lake Champlain. The English suffered a defeat at Ticonderoga, but the attack was repeated by way of the St. Lawrence. Quebec was captured by an assault after one of the most daring attacks in history, but General Wolfe fell in the hour of victory, while Montcalm fell defending his city. Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Montreal, all fell by 1760, and the war was over, though peace was not signed until 1763. The French gave up all their possessions in America except two small islands off Newfoundland and riparian fishing rights. England got Canada and all east of the Mississippi except New Orleans which, with all west of the river, was given to Spain. England had captured Havana after a frightful loss, and now exchanged that city with Spain for Florida, but eventually Spain recovered Florida once more. During this war

England also captured the Philippines, but eventually returned them to Spain. Thus ended the territorial struggle for America. One would suppose that this would have been an unquestioned gain for the colonists, but this was not the case. So long as the French threatened their security there was a common impulse to help each other against the common enemy. When all danger was past centrifugal forces set in that destroyed for the time all hope of unity and developed selfishness and jealousies in each of the colonies. The French Minister who signed the treaty warned England that in giving up Canada he was severing the strongest tie that bound the colonies to the mother country. In times of danger they appealed to England for help, but when danger was past they would forget benefits and develop independence—a prophecy soon to prove correct.

We must now look into the development of the colonies to understand the situation that in a few years was to bring about a revolution.

The Thirteen American Colonies of Great Britain occupied all the territory from the St. Croix River to the Florida line, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi south of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. There were in 1760 some 1,600,000 persons, including about 400,000 slaves. Of the total population about 700,000 whites and 100,000 slaves were north of Mason and Dixon's Line, leaving 500,000 whites and 300,000 slaves below it. It is one of the most interesting facts in our history that the latitude of Baltimore has always been very close to the center of population. In the eleven federal censuses that have been taken the center of population has shifted from a point east of Baltimore, about one degree each decade to the west, never varying but a few miles from about 39 degrees 15 minutes north lati-

tude. In 1760 there was practically no population west of the Appalachian chain, and most of it was close to the seaboard. Philadelphia was the chief city and long remained so.

The territorial limits of the colonies were not well defined. In many cases the original charters granted land to the Pacific Ocean, but most of these charters at one time or another had been repealed and finally, in 1774, when Parliament found the colonies troublesome, the Quebec Act was passed, which gave all the territory west of the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, and north of the Ohio to the Province of Quebec. This is practically the territory afterward known as the Northwest Territory, and the fact that it was once a part of Canada seems to have been generally overlooked. This, however, was only one difficulty. Maine, with limits not exactly defined, belonged to Massachusetts. The present State of Vermont was claimed by both New York and New Hampshire. With these exceptions the colonies north of Virginia had practically the same boundaries as to-day, the later modifications by the Quebec Act never having been of practical effect. Connecticut claimed the northern half of Pennsylvania and stood out long for her rights, but Pennsylvania won. Virginia, held her present bounds and the additional States of West Virginia and Kentucky. North Carolina included the present State of Tennessee. The boundaries of South Carolina and Georgia were not settled until a later date.

The population was heterogeneous to a degree as regards former nationality. New England was largely settled by native Englishmen, but there was a liberal sprinkling of Irish and Scotch, few of whom were in Connecticut. New York still had a considerable Dutch

population, who were thrifty and energetic and by no means the dull blockheads described in Irving's humorous history, though the latter view is the more common one. This country owes much to the Dutch for its institutions, which is only recently becoming realized. New York was also getting some German settlers, but New York City was not yet the great port it became after the construction of the Erie Canal. Pennsylvania contained English, German, and Scotch-Irish settlers, who had separate sections of the State, and whose descendants occupy the same to this day. The Scotch-Irish were in the Southern part of the State, while the Germans occupied the center west of Philadelphia, and already had established a printing-press and issued many works in German. Delaware contained descendants of Swedes, Dutch, and English. Maryland was largely English, but Virginia had many Scotch-Irish and Germans who pushed back to the mountains and over into the Shenandoah Valley. In North Carolina were many German Protestants, while South Carolina contained many Huguenots, of whom there were not a few in New England. Georgia, the smallest in population and youngest in point of creation, was largely English.

The colonies differed as much in customs and laws as they did in nationality. In Virginia the descendants of the cavaliers were the ruling classes, and formed an aristocracy based on wealth, position, and the Established Church. Tobacco was the leading staple, and its demand abroad furnished an easy competence to the plantation owners. There were many outward semblances of wealth marred by many shortcomings, while in culture and education the colony was behind New England. Wealth came too easy to the ruling classes to inculcate the virtues of thrift and industry. In Georgia

and the Carolinas, rice, indigo, and turpentine were the leading staples, while cotton was yet in its infancy owing to the expense in ginning.

Maryland was a commercial colony as it was fed by the Potomac and Susquehanna. The eastern shore was thickly settled, and produced much grain. Pennsylvania, including Delaware, was in many respects the most prosperous of all the colonies. She had a rich soil and a temperate climate. Philadelphia was the chief American port, and the colony got the pick of the immigrants, so that her industries were well diversified. Her rich lands brought forth grain, while iron had already been found and worked. In addition, she had probably more mechanics than any other colony, largely from Germany. New York was largely an agricultural and trading center, though her chief port was growing in importance. The fur trade with the Indians largely centered here. In New England the struggle for existence was so hard that her people turned their hands to everything. Already the cod and herring fisheries were developed. Shipbuilding and the carrying trade were important, while manufacturing on a limited scale was carried on in the homes. The New Englander with ten children found it necessary to work early and late and in every direction, to provide the barest comforts of life, but this thrift was turned to good account, and the hardy son of Connecticut in spite of his handicap of soil and climate, forged ahead of the more favored colonists in Virginia.

Of native literature there was little outside of theology and political tracts. There were institutions of learning, with meager facilities, yet by no means to be despised, according to the standards of the times. Harvard and Yale were primarily for the education of the

Congregational, Princeton for Presbyterian, and William and Mary for Anglican clergy. Columbia (then King's) was an Anglican or Episcopalian institution, while the University of Pennsylvania alone was non-sectarian and offered in many respects better facilities than any, and was quite abreast of the smaller English colleges. In New England there were general facilities for a common school education, but outside of Pennsylvania most of the other colonies were deficient in this respect.

The great mass of the people were Protestant in their religion, but not always tolerant. In Pennsylvania there was no civil distinction in regard to creed. In no other colonies could Catholics vote until after the Revolution. Foreign Protestants were naturalized after a brief residence. In New England the Congregationalists (the former Puritans) were in complete civic control, but did not discriminate as harshly as formerly against other forms of Protestantism. In Maryland and Virginia the Anglican Church was supported by public taxes, and though with the decline of the Puritan movement in England it was natural that many of the Established Church were in every colony, there was no bishop in the country. In the two colonies where the church was established it was under the charge of the Bishop of London, and elsewhere the missionary societies gave what aid and spiritual help was received.

In those days wealth was purely a relative term, as now, but there were few who had an independent income and did no work. Almost every one labored in some direction. It has been common to speak of this as a period when there was neither a tramp nor a millionaire in the country, but this only partly expresses the situation. No one was worth the larger sum nor anything

approaching it, aside from wild lands of doubtful money value. There was little personal property except in furniture and wearing apparel, which was jealously guarded and handed down to the next generation. Stock corporations were few, though there were many land companies, most of which came to grief. Of those even at that time esteemed rich there were very few, while paupers were almost unknown by reason of the stringent laws which sent vagrants into involuntary servitude. Young men were indentured to trades at an early age, and worked very hard, but they usually had the satisfaction of becoming thorough workmen. The laws against selling articles in general use of a quality below the standard discouraged incompetency or worse. Children were early compelled to assist in earning the family living, and if they were denied many of the pleasures of to-day they escaped many of the vices. Agriculture was by far the leading industry, and shipping came next. The British laws, which prohibited manufacturing except to a limited extent, were not always obeyed, but most of this was done in England, where colonies were looked on only as a national asset, which could be dealt with as Parliament pleased, regardless of the views of the colonists. Navigation laws, which restricted trade, bore heavily on the colonists, who wanted to trade direct with Europe. The learned professions were up to and even above the standard such a situation demanded. In theology the New England divines had made an impression on the mother country. The University of Pennsylvania had a medical school that turned out many men of more than local renown, while in the law there were men of high abilities in every colony, who were soon to come to the front in the struggle for independence.

Of the twelve (or thirteen with Delaware) colonies all but New York were governed under royal charters or grants to proprietaries, all of which differed from each other in some respects. New York, as a conquered province, was in a different category. In all the colonies there were local Legislatures chosen by the people, but the franchise was generally restricted to ownership of a certain amount of property or payment of a certain annual rental. In the royal colonies the Governor was appointed by the King, and acted as his Viceroy. Acts of the colonial Legislatures could be vetoed within three years by the King, who seldom did so. Connecticut and Rhode Island elected their own Governors, and made their own laws without fear of veto, and Pennsylvania was still owned by the descendant of Wm. Penn as proprietary.

The colonies were closer together in the French and Indian War than they had ever been before. There had always been more or less cohesion in New England, but nowhere else. In 1754 a Congress met at Albany, where most colonies were represented, in order to arrange some plan of union to meet the danger from the French, but nothing came of it. A sort of Federal Government with a colonial Congress was proposed by Benjamin Franklin, but neither King nor colonies wanted it. Most of the colonies were in closer touch with England than with their neighbors; there was a spirit partly of jealousy and partly of individual pride that prevented any union except in the presence of a common danger. We shall see that even when a common danger drove them to united action, it was soon followed by a strong reaction, which lasted until the present Constitution was adopted.

The great blessing of the colonist was that he had an

opportunity which was denied him in Europe. In that age it was more strikingly true than now in Europe that as a man was born so he died. It was well nigh impossible to escape from the environment in which he first saw the light. The noble, gentleman, farmer, tradesman, mechanic, tenant, sweep, and beggar were born to a heritage they could not hope to improve. But in America there was land for the asking, and that paid for all the heartburnings of leaving home and friends, perils of the sea, long service for passage money, and privations while struggling to make a home. Land hunger is one of the characteristics of the Teutonic family of nations. It was to this family that most of the immigrants belonged, though there were of Celts not a few. These latter were less prominent in agriculture than in other pursuits. It was this land hunger that has drained Europe ever since to fill our valleys and plains with a prosperous population. In 1760 there were few of the Latin race in the colonies, and those who have come since are largely in our cities.

SECOND PERIOD

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Thus stood the colonists in 1760, contented, prospering, virtuous, and industrious. That they were largely bigoted is undoubted, but that was the spirit of the age in which they lived.

The end of the French war brought the colonies the repose they sought, but they were soon to be disturbed in another direction. At this time they were well affected to the mother country which since the Puritan Revolution had bothered them very little. Parliament was now in control of Colonial legislation, but Parliament was generally so busy with other matters that the Colonies were let alone except for trade regulations which provided that all Colonial commerce must be in British bottoms which was favorable to the colonists; prevented almost all Colonial trade with foreign Nations, which was not favorable; prohibited the sugar trade between the British West Indies and the American Colonies, which was ignored; and restricted manufacturing which was of little importance as importation was usually cheaper. In all ways possible the laws were designed to make the Colonies do almost all their buying and selling in England. The Colonies did not obey these regulations strictly and no trouble would have arisen had the authorities at home been content to let matters rest as they were. This period of ignoring the colonies was unfortunately at an end. George II died in 1760 and his grandson came to the

throne as George III. The change boded ill for the Whig party and the colonies. George II had not liked Pitt, but could not get along without him. George III hated him and got rid of him in 1761. In America Pitt was loved above all Englishmen, for it was his determined policy which had saved the colonists from ruin, and finally brought victory. But George III proposed to be a King of the olden sort. He proposed to both rule and govern, and as a partisan. Personally a man of many good qualities and far above the Hanoverian standard of morals, he was ambitious and stubborn to a degree. He would not accept a responsible ministry based on the will of a majority of his Parliament, for he was bent on breaking down the Whig party, but gathered around him cabinets to carry out his own purposes. It cannot be said that he had any malice toward the colonists or that he was a vindictive man, but he was imbued with the importance of his own views and brooked no infringement of his prerogatives. It was not until George Grenville came into office, in 1763, that the colonists found out the difference in their situation. Grenville was an industrious man who wished to master every subject. Instead of letting the colonies alone he kept close track of them and was by no means pleased to learn that many of the laws corncerning trade were ignored and evaded. He was the more displeased because the expense of the late war had been heavy and troops must still be kept in the colonies to protect the inhabitants from the Indians. In the late war England and the colonies had furnished men and money in about equal proportions, 50,000 men having served in all. In spite of all the efforts of the home governments the colonists had refused to unite for self protection, but, instead, were seeking unlawful trade. One cannot be surprised at this reasoning of the Government, for it was correct.

Grenville's error was in the remedy he proposed. The Stamp Act was passed in 1765, making it necessary to use stamped paper for many purposes, very much as our own recent internal revenue laws impose stamp taxes on contracts and the like, except that separate adhesive stamps were not then used, but stamped paper bought, on which the documents were written or printed. The paper was sold by Government agents and the money was all to be used for the regular army in the colonies. The opposition to this act in the colonies was a complete surprise to the Government, which saw in it only a convenient way to raise money for colonial purposes. The colonies, however, objected most seriously to the Government taxing them and spending the money, without their own consent.

It should be remembered that in all his history the Englishman has hated nothing so much as taxation. The struggle with the kings over the right of taxation lasted for centuries until Parliament won a victory that was often made fruitless by corruption on the part of the King. Under the first two Georges, however, the King was under the domination of Parliament. Now the colonists were English; they claimed all the rights, privileges, and immunities of Englishmen under their charters, and while they made no objection to the general legislation of Parliament, they did object to the exercise of the taxing power in a body which in no sense represented them. They had their own representative bodies in the local Legislatures and objected to any invasion of their rights as bitterly as did the barons who forced the Great Charter from King John at Runnymede. The result was that by general consent no stamped paper of any consequence was bought. Business requiring stamped paper was either suspended, or the law ignored. Stamp agents were requested or forced to resign. Legislatures passed resolutions, stamped

paper was destroyed, and public meetings were held to denounce the act which did not bring in nearly enough revenue to pay the cost of enforcement. Unfortunately the opposition was not wholly dignified or peaceable. In places there were riots, property was destroyed, and officials threatened. The leaders in this opposition were: Patrick Henry, of Virginia, James Otis, John Adams, and Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts. One beneficial result was a movement toward concerted action. In New York there met, November 7, 1765, the Stamp Act Congress, composed of delegates from the colonies, which was the forerunner of important things to come. A protest against the act was passed, with petitions to the King and Parliament. Grenville was now out of office, Rockingham having succeeded him. The ministry was not particular about the bill which was not of its own making, and after an earnest speech by Pitt (now Lord Chatham), the act was repealed, in 1766, but at the same time it was declared that Parliament had a right to tax the colonists. The latter paid no particular attention to this resolve so long as it was not carried into effect, which, unfortunately, was soon the case. One would suppose from the violence of the opposition that the ministry would not have undertaken another movement of this sort without consulting the colonists, but Rockingham soon left office and a new ministry, under Lord North, took up the subject once more, not in a spirit of malice, but in a spirit equally as productive of ill feeling in the colonies, where to be ignored in matters of this kind was deemed a direct assault on their liberties. Thus ends the first stage of the struggle that brought about independence.

We shall get an entirely erroneous idea of the struggle that now came on if we do not look at the condition of poli-

tics in England. After the expulsion of the Stuarts, England was ruled most of the time for seventy odd years by foreigners. William III was a Dutchman. Mary was an Englishwoman, but the wife of William and only a joint sovereign. Anne was an Englishwoman, but she was not much of an individual sovereign, being ruled by her Ministers. George I and George II were foreigners, who thought more of Hanover than of England, could scarcely speak English, and were largely governed by their Ministers. Parliament had thus reached a commanding position in England, and if it had been a truly representative body the colonies would not have suffered. The Whig party, which had been so long in control, was corrupt in its private practices, but generally sound in its legislation. There was not then nor has there been since, any fixed principle for Parliamentary representation or concerning the franchise for electing members of Parliament. In this country we divide membership of Congress among the States once in ten years; anyone who can vote for a member of the popular branch of the State Legislature can vote for a Congressman, which is practically every legal voter. In England, or Great Britain and Ireland, Parliament redistricts the country whenever it pleases. It has done so only a few times in 300 years, and while it has extended the franchise it is still not so liberal as with us. In 1760 only about one-tenth of the adult males voted for members of the lower House of Parliament, and the seats were distributed as they had been two centuries before. It is evident how absurdly the House of Commons must have represented the people when large cities had no members at all, while extinct towns were still represented. In fact the members were largely friends and henchmen of the nobility, and great county families, who

"owned" seats and distributed them as they chose. Even Mr. Gladstone first got into Parliament this way. Under such circumstances it can be seen that it was easy by corrupt methods and influence to control elections. As Parliament had encroached on what the first two Georges considered their prerogatives, the young George III, who had been brought up to hate the Whigs, determined to break their power if possible. Not that the King was for reform; he only wanted to have his own friends in control. He was even more alarmed at the growing demand for reform which was championed by the younger element of the party, known as New Whigs. At this time one Wilkes had created great excitement by his demands for reform in many directions, and his success with the people alarmed the King, who believed his true course was to maintain his prerogatives on all occasions. It was unfortunate that Lord North should also have been a narrow-minded man. At times he was more radical than the King, who was subject to occasional fits of mental disorder, which made it impossible for him to take any part in public affairs. Between a bigoted Minister and a dogged and occasionally half insane King, Great Britain had her own share of troubles, which lasted for many years. The masses of the English people were well affected toward the colonies by reason of kinship, language, religion, and commerce. The merchants and shipowners drove a thriving trade with the colonies, and were always anxious to have peaceable relations exist. Unfortunately there was no way either in England or America that public opinion could be properly and fully expressed. There were no newspapers worthy the name, and such as there were in England were personal or party organs of little influence and limited circulation.

The struggle that came with the colonies benefited the English people as much as our own, for the reforms were gradually acquired.

The Stamp Act was a failure, not only because the people objected to taxation in the form laid, but also because in cases arising out of it trial by jury was denied, probably because it was feared that local sentiment would prevent convictions. The victory of Pitt in securing repeal was a barren one. In 1767 Parliament passed three acts, which were more objectionable than the stamp acts. One of these laid direct taxes on all tea, glass, paper, paints, and some other articles imported into the colonies. Another established a commission to see that the trade laws were executed, while by the third New York was ordered to quarter the royal troops. Compared with the duties laid in after years these were light, but they once more raised the whole question of the power of Parliament to tax the colonists. Modern jurists generally agree that Parliament had as much legal right to tax the colonists as to pass the trade acts or other legislation, just as we now assert the legal right to tax the territories which are not truly represented in Congress, since their delegates have no vote. There is not the slightest doubt, however, that the form of taxation proposed was novel and inopportune. The American colonies finally taught Great Britain by bitter experience just how to govern colonies to the mutual advantage of all concerned. As a whole, Parliament took very little interest in the matter. It was the Ministry that was largely responsible for all the legislation that was enacted.

The new so-called Townshend Acts created more trouble than the Stamp Act. Merchants all over the country agreed not to import any goods from England

while the laws were in force. Vessels were returned with their cargoes. Legislatures, under the lead of Massachusetts, began corresponding with each other on the subject, and were punished for their action by having their Legislative Assemblies dissolved, which only added fuel to the flames. It was decided to send about 10,000 British regulars to the colonies for protection, which were to be fed by the colonists. This would have come with bad grace at any time, but now the proposition was received with scorn. During a false alarm of fire in Boston in 1770 some idle persons began to chaff the soldiers on guard, who finally fired on the crowd which was threatening them with clubs. Five persons were killed and others wounded in this so-called Boston massacre. In truth the soldiers were not entirely to blame, for the mob had become riotous and might have assaulted the guards in earnest but for their premature action. While the excitement over this riot was at its height news came that Parliament had thought better of its taxing-policy and repealed all the taxes, except three pence per pound on tea. This latter, however, was not a revenue measure, for at the same time the previous British export duty of twelve pence per pound was taken off, so that tea was really nine pence cheaper than formerly. One can hardly understand the stupidity of the men who concocted this act. It was simply another method of asserting the right to tax the colonists by ostensibly giving them a bribe to accept the principle. Such a plan in 1760 might not have been received with so much disfavor, but in 1770 it was a "pin prick" policy that roused the colonists once more. Though it was now cheaper to drink the imported English tea than that which was smuggled—and smuggling was quite an exact science in those days—the colonists

went without tea rather than pay the tax. The tea was sent back or stored in damp cellars, where it spoiled; or, as in the famous case in Boston, destroyed outright. The Boston Tea Party has received more fame than other acts of resistance elsewhere from the results which followed. Some leading men in the town, disguised as Indians, boarded a vessel December 16, 1773, and threw the tea overboard. By this time the local representatives of the Crown were out of patience, the Ministry was duly informed, and punishment quickly followed. It does not seem to have occurred to the Ministry that if the people could not be bribed into admitting Parliament's power to tax them, that it would be cheaper to give up the bribe and return to the old peaceful conditions. Not at all; the dignity of the Crown was now involved, and punishment must follow. Accordingly, the port of Boston was closed, no ships being allowed to enter or depart. Massachusetts was given a military Governor, and public meetings were repressed. Persons accused of murder while resisting the laws might be sent to another colony or to England for trial, in defiance of the cherished right of the Englishman to be tried by a "jury of the vicinage" and, finally, the troops could be quartered on the people at will. Another law of vast importance has already been referred to. The Quebec Act gave all the Western territory from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, north of the Ohio to Quebec, which had proved a tractable colony. Indeed Canadians never aspired to the liberties of Englishmen, to which they had not been accustomed.

This brought about the concert of action which British requests had not been able to achieve. Correspondence between colonies and the different sections in each colony, had aroused a public spirit that was now

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THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

to be manifested. In the meantime there had arisen a mass of literature on the subject, that was widely circulated considering the times. The first outburst had been years before by young James Otis, who, in 1761, resigned his position as King's Advocate to argue against the issuance of writs of assistance by which the court was to empower Crown officers searching for smuggled goods to go beyond the limits described in the warrant, and search anywhere they pleased for the goods. This was an invasion of the cherished belief of the Englishman that his house was his castle. Otis published his argument, which was widely circulated. Pamphlets and broadsides on both sides of the controversy were issued, but of all the literature of the period, that which most affected public opinion was from the pen of John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania. Dickinson had been liberally educated abroad and had an easy style of writing, which, combined with his logic, gained him the title of Penman of the Revolution. But for the fact that in 1776 Dickinson believed the time inopportune for declaring independence, his fame would have been outshone only by that of Washington. His Farmers' Letters and other writings not only endeared him to the people, but showed his commanding ability. Up to July 4, 1776, no man in America stood higher than he, and when he refused to vote against his judgment, it was not for lack of patriotism, for he immediately led his brigade into the war.

A Continental Congress met in Philadelphia September 5, 1774, to consider what was best to be done under the circumstances. Twelve colonies were represented by fifty-five delegates, Georgia having sent none. There was no talk of independence at this time, and no intention of doing anything but insisting on the legal rights

of the colonists. A plan of union something like the Albany plan was voted down. A petition to the King was adopted, in which loyalty was professed, but the rights of the colonists under their charters and English law asserted, and repeal of the obnoxious acts requested. Another petition to the colonies and Canada was voted, which urged non-importation until their wrongs were redressed. These were both from the pen of Dickinson, and evoked the warmest praise from Lord Chatham. An address was also made to the English people, and a declaration of rights passed. If this had been all our history might have been different, but the Congress resolved that Massachusetts should not suffer alone. Her opposition to the repressive legislation against her was approved, and in case of force being used it was declared that all America ought to support her. Boston was now practically in a state of siege. After the massacre the soldiers withdrew from the town, but the port remained closed. A report reached Philadelphia that the soldiers had attacked Boston, and this was the reason that the above resolution was passed, though not without opposition. It was this that hardened the heart of George III. He placed little confidence in the professed loyalty of people who, in the same breath, counseled resistance to the laws. From that time the policy of the Ministry became more severe.

Under the new law, General Thomas Gage was made military Governor of Massachusetts, not a bad man at heart, but a plain, blunt soldier. He became early alarmed over the situation, and put Boston in a state of defense. This was a new experience for Boston. Heretofore Governors had been appointed by the Crown, but the colonies paid them their salaries, voting the amount each year, and thus held a salutary check on

them. It was because the new taxes were to be used by the Crown in paying the Governors that made them especially hateful, but now there came a military Governor with an army. Force must be met with force, and so the people quietly armed and prepared for struggle at a minute's notice, and hence became known as Minute-men. It should be remembered that but few years had elapsed since the French and Indian War, to which had succeeded Pontiac's War, in which the power of the Indians was broken for years to come. Moreover, every boy learned to shoot both as a pastime and a business. The military spirit was strong, though militia training was poor. The yeomanry, however, were generally good marksmen for that period, and that was a great offset against lack of tactical knowledge.

Before the narration of the war is taken up there is one important question usually overlooked that should be discussed. Unthinking persons are apt to infer that the great majority of the people were, when the time came, in favor of Revolution. This is not true. Just how many were ranged on each side cannot be accurately determined. The unanimity of feeling that existed before the first Continental Congress never existed afterward. The issue was made over the resolution to forcibly aid Massachusetts. Those who opposed this were called Tories, and became the Loyalist party, though it is unfair to speak of them all as unpatriotic. The whole issue was one of method, and had no reference to "the divine right of Kings." The Tories always claimed that they were in the great majority, and offered as proof the smallness of the patriot army even in times of direst need. John Adams admitted that one-third of the people were Tories, while Thomas McKean said that more than one-third of the people of influence were against

the Patriot party. The population was now between two and three millions, of whom at least 600,000 were slaves. A conservative estimate would put the white people nearly evenly divided on the subject, although the patriotic spirit was liable to ebb and flow with the fortunes of battle. The Tories did not come principally from the Cavalier element of the South. In Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts some of the ablest and purest of the educated classes were in favor only of peaceful methods of opposition to the Crown. The clash of arms came unexpectedly, and it was more than a year before the die was cast in favor of Independence.

The war for Independence did not begin as such. It was at first a mere local collision between the British regulars and minute-men. It is well to remember that the British army and its officers were under direct orders of the Ministry, and the blame should not be put on the officers or General Gage, but upon Lord North and the King, who acted so stupidly and so recklessly. General Gage does not seem to have been a great soldier. He had but few troops, was far from any possible assistance, forced to do disagreeable things in a community which was very largely antagonistic to him personally, and utterly determined to prevent the enforcement of obnoxious laws so far as possible. It was natural, therefore, that Gage should seek to keep the colonists from preparing for a conflict. That such a conflict was likely had been seen even since the first Continental Congress.

Learning that the colonists had established a depot of supplies at Concord, some twenty miles from Boston, on April 18, 1775, he sent about 800 men under Major Pitcairn to destroy the stores and, incidentally, pick up John Hancock and Samuel Adams at Lexington on the

way home. The two latter were to be sent to England for trial on a charge of treason. The alarm was given by Paul Revere, and long before the troops were under way the colonists were preparing to receive them. The first encounter was on Lexington Green, where a few minute-men had hastily gathered. The order to fire was given, by whom it is not known, and seven colonists fell dead. This was the "shot heard round the world." Major Pitcairn led his troops on to Concord and destroyed the few stores he could find, but most of them had been hastily removed. Then he had to face the gauntlet on the way home, of the patriots hidden behind stone walls and trees. His situation was like that of Braddock against the Indians. No troops could stand the continual fire, and when Lexington was reached there was almost a complete rout, but here Gage had sent reinforcements, and the retreat continued in good order. Some 300 men fell and all barely escaped capture. When the troops finally got into Boston on the night of April 19, 1775, they were not to get away again until the city capitulated.

The news spread like wildfire, and the men from the neighboring towns came to the scene at once, and in a few days nearly every town in New England had its quota on the way. Though there had been no declaration of war, every one saw that the struggle was on, and the rising was general. Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Lake Champlain were captured May 10 by Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, almost without striking a blow. The Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in May. John Hancock was elected President. Without discussing independence or any other issue, Congress made the cause of Massachusetts its own, elected George Washington, of Virginia, Commander-in-Chief, who set out

for Boston. Before he arrived hostilities had been resumed. Directly across the mouth of the Charles River to the north of Boston lay Charlestown, in which were two small hills which could command the city with cannon. It was necessary to do something, as Sir William Howe, with 10,000 troops, had arrived and superseded Gage. The colonists had no organization worthy the name, but plenty of courage and enthusiasm. On the night of June 16 they seized the hills and were ordered to fortify Bunker Hill, but by mistake began work on Breed's. The British were amazed at such daring, and immediately crossed the river to dislodge the Americans, who had erected rude breastworks. Waiting until the serried columns of British were at close range, the Americans opened a fire that drove the assaulting column down the hill in disorder. A second attack had a similar result, but a third succeeded, because the Americans ran short of ammunition. There was a fierce hand-to-hand fight, in which the American, General Joseph Warren, fell, and the farmers retreated. This defeat was by no means discouraging to the patriots. Twice they had driven the British regulars back with great slaughter, and they might have held their ground if ammunition had been on hand.

The army now reached some 20,000 men, but was a disorganized mass of volunteers, who came and went at will. Washington undertook the difficult task of putting them into shape, and there was no more fighting for some time. Congress was still disposed to think the King would see the error of his ways and relent. Accordingly, a petition to him was drawn up and adopted, against the advice of John Adams and many of the New England delegates, who declared that the King would

never yield. At the same time Congress adopted a declaration of the reasons for taking up arms, which was the forerunner of the Declaration of Independence. Both these documents were from the pen of John Dickinson, the most influential man in Congress, who at the same time was drilling a regiment for war. The petition to the King was useless, as Adams had foreseen, but before declaring irrevocably for Independence an attack was ordered on Canada. Benedict Arnold was sent, with the greatest difficulty, through the Maine wilderness to attack Quebec, while Richard Montgomery marched on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain, captured it, and joined Arnold in December. The combined army was small and poorly equipped, and Quebec was the strongest fortress in America. An assault was made on the last day of the year 1775. Montgomery was killed, Arnold wounded, and the expedition failed completely, only a remnant reaching home.

The King's answer to the colonists was War. He tried to raise an army in England, but found it easier to hire some German troops. Strange as it may seem, this was no uncommon occurrence. The mercenaries were treated as so many cattle. The petty Princes of Germany did a fine business in hiring out troops, but they were not very bloodthirsty and usually had a pleasant time of it. It was a novel idea, however, to send them over for such a purpose, and the Hessians—so-called because most of them came from Hesse-Cassel—did not enjoy the plan at all. The King declared the colonists rebels, raised all the troops convenient, in addition to the 17,000 hired Hessians, and expected to put down the rebellion easily. When the colonists learned this their last hope of compromise was gone. About this time

Thomas Paine published a tract, called "Common Sense," which had great effect in molding public opinion in the direction of independence.

Washington began his campaign in the spring. He seized Dorchester Heights, and fortified them so that Boston lay at his mercy. By agreement, Howe evacuated Boston, March 17, 1776, and sailed away for Halifax. Except for a few raids this was all of the fighting that took place in New England. Washington then marched his army to Brooklyn, Long Island, as he expected an attack would be made in that section.

The question of Independence now agitated Congress. Some of the ablest men in it, including Dickinson, thought the time had not yet come to make the declaration, and urged that the coöperation of France or some other nation be first secured. It was finally agreed that those who opposed the movement, but acquiesced in it, should not vote at all so as to make the matter unanimous. Richard Henry Lee had offered a resolution declaring Independence June 7, while Congress met in Carpenter's Hall, but action was delayed until a select committee should draw up a report. Dickinson would have headed this committee and drawn the declaration, but for his personal views, which were sincere, and cost him much of his popularity and future Federal honors, though he was afterward President (Governor) of Delaware and of Pennsylvania. The Declaration was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and revised by Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. This Declaration was adopted July 4, 1776, in the State House, which has recently (1898) been restored to the exact condition it was at that time.

Right here the student should lay down this book

and read carefully the Declaration from beginning to end. In connection with history he can appreciate it much better than by casual reading. It is a remarkable document, however considered. Its style is terse and its reasoning direct. It is true there are some glittering generalities in it, which have since been challenged. It is certainly strange that men should have solemnly declared that it is self-evident "that all men are created equal," and that among their inalienable rights are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," while at that moment there were some 600,000 negro slaves in the country who did not get their self-evident rights until after one of the bloodiest wars in history. But in spite of all objections the Declaration was and is a powerful document, and it appealed directly to the people in a way they could understand. It summarizes all the issues of the period, nearly all of which are now obsolete.

Amid general rejoicings the Declaration was passed by the unanimous votes of the colonies and then Congress had apparently exhausted its virtue. Benjamin Franklin, the most useful citizen in America, who was a printer, author, scientist, politician, and statesman, was sent to Paris to negotiate an alliance. Franklin had been agent in London for Pennsylvania and other colonies, was a shrewd man, and possessed of unusual common sense. His answers to questions at the bar of the House of Commons had earlier produced a profound effect and were instrumental in bringing about concessions. Congress also provided for raising money by loans, issuing currency and did a great deal on paper, but very little that proved of value. Some of the members went into the army, some went abroad, and some went home to help form new governments in their respective States. The new members were not generally

of so much prominence or ability. Congress quarreled over all sorts of topics, and jealousies were aroused that often killed important legislation. Indeed if all had depended on Congress our liberties would have been a long time coming.

In August, 1776, Howe landed on Long Island and defeated Washington's troops under Sullivan on the 27th. Washington then, under cover of fog, crossed to New York and took position at Harlem Heights, where Howe attacked him, but was repulsed. At White Plains Washington received a reverse, and on November 16 Fort Washington on the Hudson was captured by Howe, with 3,000 prisoners. Washington was now obliged to abandon the Hudson. His army was on both sides of the river, General Lee commanding some 7,000 men on the east side. This Charles Lee, a renegade Englishman, was a traitor who had ingratiated himself in America and had received a large command, only to do the Americans whatever harm he could. Washington ordered Lee to join him on the west side, but he refused, whereupon Washington retreated across the Delaware near Trenton. Lee, who still expected to be made Commander-in-Chief, crossed the Hudson, but was soon captured by the British. It is a pity he ever got back to the army again. General Sullivan led the rest of the troops to meet Washington. There was now a panic in Philadelphia. Everything seemed to be going against the patriot cause, and one more defeat must have crushed all present hope of Independence. Washington rightly considered that the Hessians at Trenton would be making merry at Christmas time. On that night (1776) crossing the Delaware in small boats during a blinding snowstorm, he captured the whole of the Hessians (1,000). This revived the hopes of the patriots.

Lord Cornwallis now brought an army to Trenton to destroy Washington, but the latter stole away one night and on the morning of Jan'y 3, 1777, defeated the British at Princeton, and then marched to Morristown. Cornwallis then went back to New York. This rather disheartened the British, but they said it only postponed the end a short time, as General Burgoyne was coming from Canada with an army. It was the great military fault of the British generals that they perpetually tried to hold territory rather than crush the American army. These mistakes cost them dear. Burgoyne was to come down from Canada and the plan, laid in London, was that another army under Colonel St. Leger should start from Oswego, while Howe should move up from New York and all three armies should join and operate against the enemy. The story goes that the order to Howe was written out in London, but was corrected in several places. The Minister laid it aside to have a fair copy made, and forgot all about it, and it never reached New York. Burgoyne started with his army and Indian allies in the spring of 1777, but found his task more difficult than he expected. The roads through the woods were poor, and the Americans felled so many trees across them that it was slow work to move the army. Burgoyne heard of some supplies at Bennington, Vermont, and sent a detachment of Hessians to destroy them. The Hessians were defeated by Colonel John Stark, and his Green Mountain boys. St. Leger had started from Oswego and had raised a lot of Indians as allies. General Nicholas Herkimer went to meet him, but was ambushed near Oriskany by a large force of British and Indians. Herkimer was mortally wounded and withdrew his forces. Arnold hastened to the relief of Herkimer's troops, St. Leger retreated to Lake On-

tario, and that part of the expedition failed. To meet Burgoyne there was a small but tolerably effective army under General Schuyler, but he was removed on false suspicion, and General Horatio Gates, a vain mediocre man, given command. Burgoyne was now in a critical condition. He had no help coming from any source, and his supplies were cut off from Canada. He fought an indecisive battle at Bemis Heights, and suffered a defeat near Saratoga, where Arnold fiercely attacked him. The poor Hessians were greatly alarmed and refused to fight any more. Burgoyne's army had dwindled to 6,000. He surrendered, October 17, 1777, to Gates, who was in no way responsible for the victory. As a result of this, France recognized the Independence of the United States, loaned some money, promised a great deal of aid on land and sea, very little of which was really performed; but it was a great advantage to us, as England had to fight France once more, who was now joined by Spain and later by Holland.

One would suppose that General Howe would naturally want to hunt up Washington's army and defeat it. Instead he decided to capture Philadelphia, and at the same time hold New York. He sailed southward, but did not come up the Delaware, choosing the Chesapeake. Washington marched to Wilmington, Delaware, and up the Brandywine to Chadd's Ford. Here he met the British and for a time prevented the crossing, but a detachment of the latter crossed further up the stream and outflanked Washington, September 11, 1777, who was compelled to retreat. In this battle General Lafayette, a young French nobleman who had come to our aid, was wounded. Washington retreated and Howe entered Philadelphia. Washington attacked him in the suburbs of the city at Germantown, October 4,

1777, but owing to a fog and tactical mistakes, he was defeated and retired to Valley Forge on the Schuylkill for winter quarters. Howe spent the winter in Philadelphia, but accomplished absolutely nothing in a military way. Many of the Philadelphians, especially the Quakers, were opposed to the war anyway, and Howe simply divided his forces without accomplishing anything.

That winter at Valley Forge was one of the darkest periods of the war. Through the impotence of Congress, the rascality of contractors, and the lack of system, the army was often without food or clothing. Men went barefoot in the snow and many froze to death or starved. During this winter a damnable plot on the part of some of the officers and men in civil life was hatched to supplant Washington. This conspiracy, known as the Conway Cabal, was discovered, but its authors were not punished. The only ray of light was the fact that Baron Steuben, an accomplished German officer, had come over, and by the greatest expenditure of energy had drilled the troops so that they were more effective than ever before. Howe was now succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton, who evacuated Philadelphia. Washington started after him and overtook him at Monmouth, New Jersey, where he delivered battle, June 28, 1778. The treacherous Lee, who had been exchanged, insisted on taking the lead, but had scarcely begun to fight when he retreated. Fortunately Washington came up in time to arrest Lee and continue the battle. The British retreated to New York as fast as they could, losing men and munitions on the way. Washington marched up the Hudson to West Point. A French fleet came over and an attack was made on a British garrison at Newport without success. There was little fighting

in the North for the rest of the year, except that small bands of British raided Connecticut without doing serious damage. One of the strongest British fortifications on the Hudson was Stony Point. One dark night General Anthony Wayne carried it by assault with little loss. This is considered one of the most brilliant events in military history.

And here occurred the treason of Arnold, which roused the country to indignation and almost broke Washington's heart. General Arnold was one of the ablest officers in the army, and had won fame on several occasions. Unfortunately he had been discovered to be short in his accounts while in command at Philadelphia, and had been reprimanded. This, a claim that he had not been duly appreciated, and a lust for gold, led him to offer to betray the American army to the British, which his command at West Point made possible. He entered into negotiations with Clinton, who sent Major John André to have an interview with Arnold. André was caught and papers on his person disclosed the plot. Arnold escaped to the British, and got his reward in gold and rank, but was always despised by all honest men and died as the fool dieth. Major André was tried and executed as a spy (1780). Much as Washington wanted to save his life, it was inexpedient to do so. André now has a monument in Westminster Abbey. Before this Nathan Hale had entered the British lines at New York as a spy, was discovered and hanged, his last words being: "I regret that I have only one life to give for my country."

There was no more fighting in the North, but the scene shifted to the South, where the campaigns were active, and where the British showed better generalship than in the North. Early in the war a British attack had been

made on Charleston, but it failed. Later Savannah was captured, and the State of Georgia fell into British hands. When in the winter of 1778-9 Clinton seized Savannah, a combined French and American force under General Lincoln besieged the city, but could not dislodge the British. An assault was made, but failed, with a terrible loss of life. In 1780 Clinton transferred the seat of war to the South and came with an army and captured Charleston. Going back to New York, Cornwallis was left in command, with Lord Rawdon next in rank. Another prominent figure was Colonel Tarleton, who commanded the British cavalry. These three men acted with promptness and vigor. Gates, flushed with pride over his success in the North, was in command of the American army in South Carolina. It was not a well disciplined force, but might have done well under an able commander. Cornwallis met this army August 16, 1780, at Camden and routed it almost completely. It was the worst American defeat of the war. For the time this broke up organized resistance on the part of the Americans, but Generals Sumter and Marion, with small bodies of horsemen, continued to harass the British at every possible point. The daring of these men, the swiftness with which they would appear and as suddenly disappear, gained them the name of "swamp foxes." The British horsemen were too confident that they had put down all opposition. While many of the people were Tories, there were many patriots left, who continued the war. In October over 1,000 British went as far West as King's Mountain, in North Carolina. Here the Americans hastily gathered a force largely of mountaineer riflemen, who suddenly fell on the British and killed or captured them all.

Washington now sent General Greene, one of his most trusted officers, to take command in the South. With

difficulty a small army was raised. It was officered admirably by Generals Daniel Morgan, "Light-Horse" Harry Lee, and William Washington. These made one of the most remarkable campaigns in history. They won but a single victory of the first importance and were several times defeated, but won the campaign. January 17, 1781, Colonel Tarleton fell on General Morgan at the Cowpens and was defeated and almost annihilated. The Americans had the smaller force and lost but twelve men killed. Greene next met Cornwallis at Guilford, North Carolina. It was a hard fought battle, but Greene had to retire. Cornwallis did not follow, but went to Virginia to recuperate. The moral effect of the campaign was favorable to the Americans. Greene was hard pushed by Cornwallis and had retreated northward until ready to fight, when he chose his own ground. Pretty soon Greene returned South and was defeated by Rawdon at Hobkirk's Hill and Eutaw Springs, but he so maneuvered that he cleared the British out of the interior, and the campaign was a decided success. In Virginia Cornwallis found Arnold in command of a British force. He sent the traitor to New York and took possession of Yorktown, which was of no possible use to him. For some reason not entirely clear, but with the idea that he was obeying orders, he fortified the place, after he and Lafayette with a small army had played at hide and seek with each other. When Washington heard about Cornwallis' position, he feinted as if about to attack New York, but swiftly moved South and besieged Cornwallis with the aid of some French troops brought by Admiral De Grasse, who had been long cooped up in Newport, but had escaped. For the first time in the war the military odds were against the British, and escape was impossible. Cornwallis surrendered October 19, 1781, and the war was practically over.

SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Painting by E. Armand-Dumaresque

After Yorktown fell, Washington marched back to the Hudson with his army, which was disbanded April 19, 1783, eight years from the day the minute-men gathered on Lexington Green. The naval events of the war were not highly important. A small navy was organized and many prizes taken, but the privateers were far more effective in this respect, as they captured many hundreds of vessels with cargoes worth many millions, and, what was of more importance, furnished the American army with powder and clothing. Ezekiel Hopkins cruised around with a little squadron, destroying commerce, and fought an indecisive battle with a British squadron. John Paul Jones put to sea in the Ranger and captured one war vessel and many prizes. The best American frigate was the Reprisal, Captain Wickes, who captured about seventeen prizes. With the Lexington and the Dolphin he set sail for America, but all were lost on the voyage.

The one important sea fight was that of Jones, now commanding the Bonhomme Richard, after he had ravaged the coast of Great Britain in the Ranger and created a panic among shipping merchants.* He set sail August 14, 1779, with the American frigate Alliance and two small French vessels. Off Scarborough September 23, he met the British frigate Serapis convoying merchantmen. A severe fight took place, in which the Richard was shot to pieces, but Jones boarded and took the Serapis after a desperate struggle. Soon afterward the Richard sank and Jones sailed away to France. This closed the actual fighting on the sea, but privateers kept afloat until the last.

When Lord North heard that Cornwallis had surrendered, he cried out that the end had come. He resigned and the new ministry made preparations for peace, which

*See Volume "Famous Warriors."

was not formally ratified for more than a year. Negotiations were opened in Paris with Benjamin Franklin, who was shortly joined by John Jay and John Adams. The Americans had agreed not to make peace until France and Spain should agree, but made separate negotiations. There were many very difficult questions to settle, such as boundaries, navigation of the Mississippi, the fisheries, the Indians, etc. These negotiations were prolonged until the British ministry feared that success was impossible, and so negotiations were hurried by postponing some questions and leaving France out of the negotiations entirely when it appeared that the latter was ready to take advantage of the situation for her own benefit. The boundaries included all east of the Mississippi and south of Canada, except Florida, which was restored to Spain. We gained the right to fish, and Great Britain agreed to abandon the forts in the West, while we were to assume certain obligations. The treaty was agreed on November 30, 1782, and finally concluded September 3, 1783.

Peace hath her troubles no less than war. When the war was over the situation of the country was not what might have been supposed. There was practically no government. During the war the old self-constituted Continental Congress had been succeeded by the Congress under the Articles of Confederation which had been adopted as a constitution. This Congress was composed of inferior men and was subject to limitations which made legislation well nigh impossible. Each State had but a single vote, while two-thirds of the States were necessary to pass important bills. It had no power to raise money except by borrowing if it could, issuing scrip which became worthless, or asking the States, which did not result very satisfactorily. Congress could levy no taxes and had no coercive power. Little wonder then that poor provision

was made for the army, that it was poorly fed, worse clad and almost never paid! Small wonder that officers complained when no provision was made for them, or that the men sometimes mutinied. It was due to Washington's skill, forbearance and moral influence, the patriotism and bravery of his officers and men that victory came, and not to Congress, which was almost useless.

Indeed, so critical was the situation, so necessary was some strong government, that Washington's army would have made him King, a suggestion he would not consider. Finally Congress made some provision in the way of land grants for the Army, but many of that patriot band had little other than glory as a reward. In the eight years many troops had been enlisted, but most of them served only a very short time during some emergency. It was seldom that Washington had 12,000 men in one army. The country had prospered in spite of the war which, except for the ravages of Indians on the frontier, was humanely conducted. New Jersey and Pennsylvania saw most of the fighting, but business was not greatly interrupted.

When the war was over the States drifted back into their old ways before the war. Each had its own laws. Strong jealousies and rivalries existed which were manifested in legislation. Each State had its own tariff law, and discriminated against its neighbors. Each State was in debt for the war. Congress was in debt for the loans it had made abroad, and borrowed money to pay the interest. Large sums had been borrowed at home, largely through the efforts of Robert Morris, but no interest was paid on this, while the continental currency was practically worthless.

In the mean time, Great Britain did not evacuate the Western forts, nor did the States pay debts to British

citizens contracted before the war. Congress was in desperate straits. The Confederation was only formed by promises of all the States to give up to the Government the lands west of the Alleghanies, north of the old Ohio, but the Government was slow in making any government for them. In 1784 Jefferson drew up a plan, but it failed, and he went to Paris as our minister. In 1787 the so-called Ordinance was passed, which provided for the government of the Northwest Territory and its ultimate division into States. This law provided for limited self-government under national control, and forever prohibited slavery in that section. On this general basis, excepting the slavery clause, all our territories were erected up to 1898.

It seems paradoxical, but it is true, that the first years of peace and freedom of the States were in many respects less satisfactory than before the war began. There were quarrels over which State had done the most in the war, claims of offsets against demands by Congress, crimination and recrimination over various points, until that body became so powerless that sometimes it could not actually raise enough money to buy stationery. Thoughtful men soon saw that something must be done right speedily, or else we would either have a civil war or would fall a prey to foreign attack. Early in the struggle, Franklin had published the picture of a serpent cut into thirteen parts, with the superscription: "Unite or die." This advice or warning was now quite as imperative. If the Articles of Confederation had been stronger our history might have been shorter. Because they were so weak, a stronger government was possible.

Maryland, as we have seen, had troubles about her boundaries, but now she had troubles of a different sort. On the South she was bounded by the Potomac, while

the Susquehanna came down from the north. It was very difficult to settle on trade regulations under these circumstances, as opportunities for smuggling and cheating were plenty. There was a question also as to who could rightfully control the mouth of the Potomac, while Pennsylvania was in danger of having the mouth of the Susquehanna closed entirely. In consequence the three States were about to send Commissioners to discuss the matter when Virginia invited delegates from all the States to discuss trade and commerce. Neither New England nor the far South took any interest in the matter, but delegates from five States met at Annapolis in 1786. They declared in favor of a convention at Philadelphia the next year to amend the Articles of Confederation, to which Congress agreed after some hesitation.

The Constitutional Convention of 1787 marks the turning point in our history. But for its work we might be now in as deplorable a condition as South America. It was a common danger that once more forced the former colonies to act. The Convention was called to amend the Articles of Confederation—it adopted a new constitution entirely. Indeed, amendment had several times proved impossible, as it required a unanimous vote of all the States. Twice Rhode Island and once New York had prevented the adoption of absolutely necessary amendments to enable the Congress to raise money. In consequence every State did practically as seemed good in its own eyes. Connecticut laid claim to Northeastern Pennsylvania and was driven out by force. In Massachusetts the so-called Shay's Rebellion in favor of paper money had necessitated raising an army. It was hard to collect debts in distant States, and all sorts of foolish legislation was indulged in, until it was seen that ruin or regeneration must follow.

Fortunately the States sent delegations of their ablest

men. Not since the Continental Congress of 1776 had so many strong men been gathered together. From Massachusetts came Caleb Strong, Nathaniel Gorham, Elbridge Gerry, and Rufus King. From New York, Alexander Hamilton, John Lansing, and Robert Yates, but the two latter left the convention and did not sign. From Delaware, Gunning Bedford, Jr., George Read, and John Dickinson. From Pennsylvania, Jared Ingersoll, Robert Morris, Thomas Mifflin, James Wilson, and Benjamin Franklin, the wisest man of all. From Virginia, George Washington, James Madison, Edmund Randolph, and George Mason. From New Jersey, William Paterson and Jonathan Dayton. From North Carolina, William Blount and Alexander Martin. From South Carolina, Pierce Butler, John Rutledge, Charles Pinckney and Charles C. Pinckney. From Georgia, William Houston and Abraham Baldwin. From Connecticut, Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth. From Maryland, Daniel Carroll and James McHenry. From New Hampshire, John Langdon and Nicholas Gilman. Rhode Island was not represented. The above are only the leading delegates from the States, but they sufficiently indicate the high quality of the whole. The Convention met in Philadelphia May 25, 1787, with at first only seven States represented; it did not complete its work until September 17, and all its sessions were secret. George Washington was elected President, and it was in great measure due to the certainty that he would be the first Executive of the country that the Constitution was finally adopted.

It soon developed that there was a marked division of opinion among the delegates as to the nature of the new frame of government. The larger States in population, such as Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, wanted a strong Central Government. Small States, like

New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, wanted the general plan of the Articles of Confederation to remain. It was soon agreed to divide all powers of government between executive, legislative, and judicial bodies. But here harmony ceased. Some wanted a single and some a plural executive. Some wanted a single and some a dual legislature. Some wanted only States represented, some wanted the population, some the wealth and some both wealth and population as bases of representation. The final agreement was that the lower house should be based on population and the upper on the States which were all accounted equal. This was the first compromise, but it involved another. The States of South Carolina and Georgia wanted all slaves enumerated; the Northern States wanted them ignored. A compromise was effected by counting three-fifths of the negroes.

Trade regulations caused great discussion, and it was long ere a compromise was agreed on whereby no export duties were to be laid, while the importation of slaves was permitted until 1808. Congress was allowed to control navigation laws, and fugitive slaves were returnable to their owners. The question of State representation and slavery being settled, the Constitution was finally evolved and signed by members from all the States, but not by all of them. Congress referred the Constitution to the various States, who called conventions to consider it. Delaware led the way and Pennsylvania and New Jersey soon followed. Georgia and Connecticut ratified in January, 1788, and Massachusetts in February. Then there was a lull, and fears were entertained that the necessary nine States could not be secured. In the interest of ratification a series of publications called "The Federalist" were issued which argued strongly the merits of the Constitution and have ever since held high rank among the commentaries

on that great document. These papers were by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. The rise of political parties was based on the issue of ratification. Those favoring the strong Central Government of the Constitution became known as Federalists. Those who objected to the powers ceded to the Federal Government and preferred to reserve more to the States, opposed ratification and were known as Anti-Federalists, and later formed the nucleus of the Republican, now called the Democratic party. It was not until June that New Hampshire, the necessary ninth State, ratified, but New York and Virginia soon followed. North Carolina waited more than a year, and Rhode Island was not admitted until 1790, by which time she was treated as a foreign power and was about to feel strong pressure.

It is noteworthy that the choice of President by an Electoral College was deliberately made after once proposing to have Congress perform the duty. No suggestion was made that the election be by the people. Such a proposition would have received no support. The Constitutional Fathers were not believers in democracy. They feared the masses, and believed that only the learned, the wise, the wealthy and the well born should govern. This is the less remarkable when we consider that in all the States except New Jersey the franchise was very considerably restricted. Property owners, or those paying a certain amount of rental, alone were allowed to vote for assemblymen, while the State Senates were chosen by a much more exclusive class of voters. The Fathers left the choice of a President to a body of electors, who were supposed to be the wisest men in the country and fit for the solemn duty of choosing a chief magistrate. It was intended that they should be unhampered, but this theory soon broke down. It was charged that in the first

SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS AT YORKTOWN

real contest for the Presidency, three electors chosen in Jefferson's interest, voted for Adams and elected him. Since then no Presidential elector has dared to vote other than for his party candidate. There was no constitutional reason why the Presidential electors in 1896 should not have chosen William J. Bryan, Thomas B. Reed, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, or Grover Cleveland President, yet to have chosen anyone else but William McKinley would have brought about a revolution. If in the winter of 1876-7 any non-contested Republican elector had voted for Tilden, it would have elected him. Any elector could have legally done so, but the consequences would have been disastrous—certainly to the elector. The result has been that party government has displaced the proposed rule of the wise men of the Electoral College.

The Congress was sitting at New York when it adopted the Constitution. It ordered that electors be chosen (in this case all by the Legislatures) on the first Wednesday in January, that they vote on the first Wednesday in February, and that the inauguration take place on the first Wednesday in March, which on that day fell on the Fourth. Washington was unanimously chosen President and John Adams was chosen Vice-President, but the inauguration did not take place until April 30, 1789. Nevertheless the term was held to begin on March 4, and has so continued, much to the distress of people who gather on that date to witness the ceremonies, for it is not infrequently that the weather is raw and inclement. The old Congress did not dissolve in state. It died for want of a quorum, and its decease was unlamented.

THE THIRD PERIOD

FROM THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION TO THE COMPROMISES OF 1850

The new Ship of State was now launched, but it needed a great deal of rigging. There was an enormous amount of work to do, and fortunately a body of able men assembled for the purpose. The first inauguration took place in New York, with simple yet impressive ceremonies, for Washington was by no means democratic in his notions. There were established certain forms of etiquette, not extreme, but stately, which lasted until Thomas Jefferson swept them away twelve years later. Washington chose for his Cabinet:

Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Secretary of State.

Alexander Hamilton, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury.

Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War.

The Postmaster-General was not made a cabinet officer until many years later. Jefferson was our Minister to France, but was home on leave of absence. He did not take office for some months. Other leading appointments were: John Jay, Chief Justice, with William Cushing, of Massachusetts; James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; Robert Harrison, of Maryland; John Rutledge, of South Carolina, and John Blair, of Virginia, as associates. Harrison declined, and James Iredell, of North Carolina, was later given the place. Samuel Osgood, of Massachusetts, became Postmaster-General, but there were then very few

post-offices in the country, and the duties were not onerous. It was long before the Supreme Court had much business, and changes in its composition were frequent.

Inasmuch as financial prostration and lack of means for raising revenue were the chief causes that impelled the adoption of the Constitution, it was natural that on Hamilton should fall the chief labor of the administration. Money must be raised, a fiscal system established, and the national debt must be provided for. To raise money Hamilton relied chiefly on customs duties. Accordingly the first act of importance (being numerically the second) was one laying duties on enumerated articles to raise money and for "the protection of manufactures." The duties were low, there was a considerable free list, and a discrimination was made in favor of goods imported in American bottoms. The debates on this bill were practically the same that have been repeated ever since. There were those who believed in protection; there were those who believed only in a revenue measure, and there were those who were against the theory of protection, but saw to it that industries in their own localities were protected. A great deal of human nature has been exhibited in every fight on the tariff, but all the arguments have been amplifications of those which arose at the very beginning. Madison was the administration leader on the floor of the House, but ere long he became opposed to Hamilton, and soon became an Anti-Federalist. District Federal courts were established, but had little business for a long time. Congress repassed the Ordinance of 1787 relative to the Northwest Territory, and soon there was a heavy emigration Westward. It was some years before Congress adopted the policy of selling direct to the settler small tracts of land. For a time large companies undertook the work, and usually came to grief. When the Government

began to survey the land and sell it on easy terms the West filled up so rapidly that in alarm the Eastern States sought to prevent any more sales, as it was feared the people of the West would combine and drive the Eastern States from power. Such a fate never resulted. Emigration has been almost due westward and on each parallel the political, social, and moral ideas have been about the same throughout. The political division followed Mason and Dixon's line rather than one north and south. In all the additions to our country of territory and population the radical portions of the population have been in the extremes of North and South, while the Central portion has remained conservative.

Most of the States had ratified the Constitution with recommendations of amendments. The first Congress proposed twelve amendments, of which ten were adopted. Two more were adopted within a few years, and no more until after the Civil War. Nevertheless the Constitution expanded by interpretation of the Supreme Court. John Marshall, as Chief Justice, did more than a dozen amendments to fit the Constitution to existing conditions. The revered document has proved flexible. Like a basket, it has withstood many knocks, but has never been broken.

It was due largely to Washington's wisdom and the confidence reposed in him that the new order of things was established with so little friction. Business confidence was restored and the people were generally prosperous. The second session of Congress was momentous, for it decided our financial policy. Hamilton was as yet but thirty-three years of age, though a more comprehensive mind did not exist in America. He laid his plans broad and deep. He proposed to fund the foreign and domestic national debt and assume the debt of the States created on account of the war. These amounted in all to about $80,000,000, of

which the State debts amounted to about $22,000,000. When it is considered that the population of the whole country at that time was only about 4,000,000, or less than that of Ohio in 1898, and considerably less in wealth, the size of the burden even now seems large, but then it appeared enormous. Hamilton's views were by many believed to be fanciful, but he was prepared to demonstrate that they were feasible. He proposed to fund all the debt and interest at par, to establish a national bank, which should become the fiscal agent of the Government, and levy an internal revenue tax to make up the deficiency in revenue . Strange as it may seem, there was the bitterest opposition on the part of some States to being relieved from debt. Moreover, the domestic debt which it was proposed to refund at par, had long been at a heavy discount, and few of the bonds were in the hands of the original owners. Many wanted these scaled down, but Hamilton was firm for keeping the national pledge, and won.

Interlaced with this proposition was one to locate the Federal Capital according to its Constitutional permission. New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore wanted the honor, while Southern men wanted a site on the Potomac chosen. Germantown, then a suburb of Philadelphia, was once almost selected, but the debt matter got mixed up with it, and finally, by Jefferson's aid, a compromise was effected by which Philadelphia was made the temporary Capital, the Potomac site where now stands the Capital City was chosen as the permanent Capital, and Southern votes supported the assumption of the State war debt. This was a fine piece of log-rolling, and the only time that Jefferson and Hamilton worked together. At the next session Hamilton succeeded in getting a charter for his National Bank with $10,000,000 capital, but the charter

was to run only twenty years. A tax on spirits was laid which soon had important consequences. The slavery question was injected into this Congress by petitions of Quakers in favor of emancipation. There were some earnest debates on the subject, but the House resolved that the States alone could deal with the subject. South Carolina and Georgia were largely responsible for the maintenance and growth of slavery. It soon became extinct in all the States north of Maryland. Virginia was seriously considering emancipation, but could not solve the problem. But for the invention of the cotton gin, slavery might have died out in the South. Certainly the institution would have been milder than it finally became. But for Georgia and South Carolina some project looking toward gradual emancipation would probably have been placed in the Constitution.

The third and final session of the First Congress at Philadelphia developed differences of policy which gave the trend of future political parties. Alexander Hamilton was the leader of the Federalists, and his policy of protection, bounties, national bank, and strong federal control was the platform of his followers. Jefferson was the leader of the opposition, who regretted assumption, objected to the National Bank, and feared the protective and concentrating policy of Hamilton. The administration won most of its measures, but Madison was no longer its leader in the House, as he veered over to Jefferson's views. The financial condition of the country had vastly improved, our national credit was high at home and abroad, confidence in business was restored, and Hamilton was justified by the results of his policy. There was opposition to the excise tax in the West, but it culminated later.

The most serious trouble was with the Indians west

of the Alleghanies. The trend of emigration had been so great that Kentucky was admitted in 1792 as a State along with Vermont (1791). What is now Ohio was being settled, but the savages had committed such ravages that it was necessary to suppress them with a strong hand. The regular army was small—indeed, it has never been sufficiently large for the emergencies that have so often arisen. To General Harmar was confided the task in 1790 of restoring order, but he underestimated the task. The British posts were still held in defiance of the Treaty of Paris, and from them the Indians received material and moral support. Harmar was badly worsted at the Maumee in October, 1790, by Little Turtle, largely by the sudden flight of the raw militia. Another expedition was determined on and Gen. Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest Territory, was chosen to lead it. Washington, who was skilled in frontier warfare, warned St. Clair of the nature of his task, and bade him beware of surprise. St. Clair was a good officer, but old and gouty. Most of his troops were undisciplined militia from the West, and he had great difficulty in getting together anything like a suitable force. In September, 1791, about 2,000 regulars and 1,000 militia started from near the present city of Cincinnati for the headwaters of the Wabash, building a line of forts as they progressed through the wilderness. The journey was slow, and by November desertions had reduced the little army to about 1,400 men. Straggling along with improper discipline, the army reached the headwaters of the Wabash, not far from the scene of Harmar's defeat, when they were suddenly set upon (November 4, 1791) by Little Turtle and his braves, and cut to pieces. St. Clair fought nobly, but the Indians were in a strategic position behind trees and logs, so that they were not easily attacked. General

Butler, his second in command, was heroic in his efforts but fell in battle. The battle raged for three hours before the flight began with a remnant of survivors. Over 600 officers and men were killed and 250 wounded. The rout was complete.

When Washington heard of the disaster his rage knew no bounds. For a few moments he gave vent to his temper, which at such times was terrible. Then he regained composure and determined to turn defeat into victory. The new expedition was placed in command of General Anthony Wayne, of Pennsylvania. Wayne and Greene were the only two Americans aside from Washington who had come out of the recent war with reputations of the first rank. Both were soldiers of the highest order, and would have won honors in any field. Wayne was the greater genius, though Greene may have excelled him as a strategist. The only other General of the war who developed genius was the traitor Benedict Arnold, whose military sagacity and courage were ruined by his moral depravity. In 1793 Wayne started from Pittsburg via Fort Washington (Cincinnati) for the Indian country. In 1794 he advanced to the Maumee, not far from Toledo, and fell upon the Indians August 20, whom he defeated with terrible slaughter. The Indian opposition was broken forever in this section. All the chiefs sought for peace, gave up their captives, and the rich country was rapidly settled by a prosperous people. In this campaign Wayne showed all the qualities of a great General. He kept all details under his own eye, enforced discipline, kept ever on the alert, so that he gained the name of "the General who never sleeps." His winter quarters after the battle now bears the historic name Fort Wayne, one of the thriving cities of Northern Indiana.

The federal city chosen by Washington on the banks

of the Potomac, originally included a portion of Virginia, which was later ceded again to that State. On the hills above the river where Washington had encamped his army in the Braddock campaign, the new capital was located. Owners of the land gave one half their ground to the Government, and sold what else was needed at a reasonable rate. One half the territory was given up to streets and parks under the wise direction of Major L'Enfant, who provided for a great city in the future which could be beautifully adorned as well as made strategically defensible from the leading hill tops. It is, however, within the memory of the present generation that Washington became a beautiful, well ordered, well paved, and properly adorned city.

The period of the First Congress was one of general satisfaction, but during that of the Second the storm of partisanship burst. The new National Bank, chartered for twenty years, had been launched with great success, but it encountered the fiercest opposition. The excise tax made trouble on the frontier. Hamilton was busy pushing his schemes for concentration, while Jefferson was his open opponent, though both sat at the same executive board. Both were among the most useful of American citizens, each was actually modified in action by the other, but they agreed on nothing. Hamilton was brilliant, original, forceful, domineering, and self-confident. He was pro-British in his views, and a theorist in political philosophy, but bold in action. Jefferson was also brilliant, but facile, secretive, ruled with a plastic touch, and was greatly influenced by his residence in France when democracy was being elevated to the gods before being turned into anarchy. Of all our statesmen Hamilton was the most original in constructive legislation. He fought for his views, generally right, but with too little regard for the

means employed, so that he was obliged to purge himself of a false charge of fraudulent official conduct by confessing a liaison with a married woman. Hamilton was the friend of rich men, but never gained a dollar by his official position, though it was charged that his friends grew rich. Jefferson was never accused of enriching himself by official position, and died poor, but he used the patronage of his office to injure Hamilton. The result of this quarrel was that eventually both left the Cabinet after inducing Washington, much against his will, to accept a second term.

Before this term ended, however, the French Revolution took place, and for a time this country was wild with enthusiasm for the people that had helped us in our time of trial and had now erected a democracy. Washington did not share in the enthusiasm of Jefferson, and the latter soon found that the French ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity were not those which in theory he had commended. In 1793 Genêt, the French Minister from the new Republic, arrived at Charleston and proceeded north more as a sovereign than an ambassador. Assuming that we would take up arms at once for France, he gave commissions right and left, and was received with enthusiasm until he reached Philadelphia, where news of the excesses of the Directory had preceded him. In a short time he was denouncing and defying Washington for his dignified attitude of neutrality. This latter course brought the people to their senses. Genêt was soon discredited here and recalled by the Directory, but that body had gotten into such an unconquerable habit of decapitating those who displeased them that Genêt remained and married an American heiress.

Washington's second term was full of disappointments. During most of it he was obliged to forsake his

dignified position of independence and become an avowed Federalist. He was maligned as almost no man in our history. It almost broke his heart, for he had been pure in thought and honorable in action, yet he had not escaped calumny. Edmund Randolph became Secretary of State, while William Bradford, of Pennsylvania, took the Attorney-Generalship. Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut, became Secretary of the Treasury somewhat later, and Timothy Pickering, of Pennsylvania, became Secretary of War and later Secretary of State. All these changes were gradual.

The First Congress was strongly with the administration, Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, being Speaker. The Second was Federalist and chose Jonathan Trumbull (Brother Jonathan) as Speaker. The Third had veered round to the party of Jefferson, known as Republicans, and Muhlenberg was once more Speaker. In the latter Congress the Senate was very close, and the Federalists used their slight advantage to refuse a seat to Albert Gallatin, just chosen from Pennsylvania, on the technical ground that he had not been long enough a citizen of the country. Gallatin was a Swiss, but had lived here since boyhood. Settling in Western Pennsylvania, he soon came into prominence and became one of the most useful American citizens of his time, serving in many capacities and living to a green old age. He was soon elected to the House, where he injured the Federalists far more than he could have done in the Senate.

The chief danger confronting the people was the insolent and aggressive position of Great Britain. That country had not carried out its obligation to abandon the forts in our territory where the Indians received most of their support, nor had it permitted us that freedom of trade which our sovereignty entitled us to. Moreover, she had

a habit of seizing on any persons she chose to claim as her own citizens and impress them into her navy. Included among these were many American citizens. Protests were useless, and we soon came to the situation that we must go to war or acknowledge King George as our suzerain. This situation was complicated by the beginning of the wars between France and the rest of Europe, which lasted for twenty-two years with brief intervals. Our shipping was in danger of being ruined. The Federalist party generally sided with Great Britain hoping for an accommodation. The Republicans sympathized with France but were doubtful as to a policy. In this dilemma Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay on a special mission to Great Britain to negotiate a new treaty. He arrived at London in 1794 and after some delay negotiated a treaty that was far from satisfying the wishes of the administration. The British posts were to be evacuated, the Mississippi was to be open to both countries, we were to pay certain damages claimed, the northern boundary was to be rectified, while Great Britain was to pay for certain American vessels recently seized. The only trade rights secured were very meager ones with the West Indies, under restrictions that were practically of no value. This was a stingy treaty and the Senate ratified it by a bare two-thirds necessary vote. As an appropriation was necessary the House had to bring in a bill and here the opposition was intense. Jay was reviled and execrated to an extent that now seems almost impossible. The treaty would have failed but for one man. Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, was the first of Congressional orators. He was ill, believed he was on his deathbed, but so anxious to avert war that he came to the House and in a speech of the most impassioned imagery and touching pathos, besought the House to avert war, which was the only alter-

native. As one about to sink to the grave, he begged Congress not to permit the indiscriminate horrors on the frontier, when women and children would be a prey to the savages. This turned the scale and the treaty was saved by a close vote. The treaty was not satisfactory and it was not long before new friction arose which finally culminated in war.

The other important event of this administration was a domestic one. In Western Pennsylvania the people forcibly resisted the collection of the excise tax and brought on the Whisky Rebellion—so-called. This rebellion was not only against what was esteemed a tax on a necessity, but because suits arising out of the subject were triable in Philadelphia, which caused enormous trouble and expense. In 1794 the federal authorities were forcibly resisted in Western Pennsylvania and Washington immediately took measures to restore order. An army of 15,000 men was called for and the response was immediate. No resistance was offered and the opposition quieted down. There were two convictions of crimes and Washington pardoned both.

The Fourth Congress was torn up over the Jay treaty and the rivalries between the friends of Hamilton and Jefferson. The Federalists had gained slightly in the Senate, but the Republicans still held the House. Muhlenberg was succeeded by William Dayton, of New Jersey, a Moderate. Congress was obliged to pay the Dey of Algiers $1,000,000 to ransom some captives and agree to an indemnity of $60,000 a year as guarantee against his pirate hordes and finally present him with a frigate. This humiliation was atoned for later.

The Presidential succession proved an exciting contest. Washington had positively refused to be considered and John Adams became the Federalist candidate, much

to the chagrin of Hamilton. Jefferson was the Republican candidate, who, on his retirement, (after leaving the Cabinet) had not lost his grip on public affairs. In those days many States chose their electors by Congressional districts, while in some the Legislature chose them. There was no fixed rule. Each elector voted for two persons without designating which was to be President. While electors were allowed to vote for whom they pleased, this was the only contest in which it was even alleged that any personal choice was exercised. The vote was so close that two electors carried the scale in favor of Adams. It was charged that they were elected in the interest of Jefferson. The Federalist candidate for the Vice-Presidency was Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, while Aaron Burr, of New York, was second choice of the Republicans. Hamilton hoped that Pinckney's popularity in the South would be such that he might even get more votes than Adams and thus become President, but the scheme failed, though it produced a breach in the Federalist party. Jefferson was chosen Vice-President. It is pleasing to note that as the retirement of Washington drew near, partisan spirit vanished, and all looked up to the patriot sage with honor and appreciation. His farewell Message has ever since been a beacon light in our history, though often construed more literally than he probably intended. And thus amid the applause and veneration of a unanimous people the Father of his Country retired to Mount Vernon to spend a few years in peace. Washington was no idealist and no parade hero. He was mortal, but his greatness reached the full measure of humanity. Not without his shortcomings and limitations in lesser matters, in all that goes to make up the combination of patriot, warrior, statesman, and sage he stands on a pedestal above all other men, and it is gratifying to

note that the highest encomiums on his greatness have come not only from foreigners, but from those foreign statesmen who have themselves achieved greatness under circumstances impossible in this country. There is no recent British historian but speaks of Washington with a fervor no American can excel, and the latest of great British statesmen, just gone to his long home, has placed him second to none in the Temple of Fame.*

John Adams came to the Presidency under conditions which would have proved fatal to the ambitions of almost any man, however wise. In the first place Washington, though maligned in language unbecoming a pickpocket, and assaulted in every way known to human venom, nevertheless, was superior to all attack and retired from office honored, venerated and beloved as no man since his time. If Adams had been his equal, he could not have escaped calumny nor could he have kept the confidence of those who were not politicians. There can be but one demigod in this country at a time, and most of our hero-worship is for the dead. Unfortunately Adams, though a sterling patriot, a man of culture, wide experience and undoubted honesty, was destitute of those qualities which made Washington at the last unassailable. Adams was dogmatic, irritable, effusive, and suspicious, though, beyond all, honest and patriotic. No man could ask a worse fate than to be compared with Washington, yet Adams by no means admitted his inferiority. It was his misfortune to inherit from Washington the quarrel with France, and his greatest political misfortune was that he brought peace with honor, which ended his own career. These things seem a paradox, yet it is not contrary to human experience that peace is theoretically desirable while war is ever popular.

*See Volume "American Statesmen."

Probably no administration in our history is of more value to the student than that of Adams, yet we must pass over it hastily. It is almost entirely concerned with the French troubles, which began in Washington's term at the same time we had our troubles with England. The French Revolution roused all Europe to war against the new democracy and we must ever keep in view that our own troubles were really part and parcel of those of Europe. England was soon at war with her hereditary enemy across the channel. Our neutral commerce suffered. England seized our vessels carrying food to France, and France seized those en route to British ports. International law had not then settled all the subtleties of neutral trade and, in any event, our military weakness made us despised and ignored. The Jay treaty gave us the most feeble attributes of sovereignty and guaranty of our rights at a time we were negotiating with France, with an eye to an alliance in case no treaty was made. When the Jay treaty was ratified it mortally wounded France, and our minister, James Monroe, after making a mess of negotiation, was recalled by Adams. If we except the retention of the Western posts by Great Britain we had a greater grievance against France than England. Sentimentally we should have been bitter against Great Britain and friendly to France, but we had so many grudges against both for seizure of ships and cargoes under the subterfuge of contraband that sentiment was largely in favor of doing something for ourselves. The French thought that we would submit to anything because of their aid in our war for independence, while Great Britain believed she could enforce any restrictions she chose because of our weakness. Both Great Britain and France underestimated each other as well as our own country. The course of the Directory in Paris had alienated a great

deal of the Jacobin feeling in this country, while discontent over the Jay treaty had made us unfriendly to Great Britain, though diplomatically we were on good terms. We must not forget that from 1793 to 1815, though British diplomacy was brusque—often brutal—it had for its ultimate object the suppression of the excesses of the French Revolution, and the ambitions of Napoleon. Bad as were many acts of British statesmen, much as we suffered from her domineering, unsympathetic attitude, it is due to Great Britain alone that Napoleon did not carry out his scheme of World Empire, in which we must have been swallowed up. Great Britain's attitude toward us was unnecessarily brutal and she never could comprehend the potentialities of our Republic, yet we gained immeasurably in the long run by her conduct, even though we had to wage a just war to compel our recognition as a Sovereign Nation.

Adams entered office weighed down with a sense of the responsibility and not without a sense of his own importance. Jefferson assumed the Vice-Presidency nonchalantly, almost with levity, but under the mask he kept a firm grip on the situation. Adams made an egregious error in keeping Washington's Cabinet intact. By this time Washington's Cabinet was reduced almost to nonentities. Hamilton, Jefferson, Knox, and Randolph had resigned. Pickering was Secretary of State, and the others were mere bureau chiefs with no political force and without statesmanship. This tribute to Washington was well meant, but it was one of the chief causes of Adams' political wreck. Adams, who had been called a British sympathizer, and a foe of Jacobins, sought to reëstablish his position by showing himself superior to all factions. He sent a deputation of three to France to settle all difficulties. John Marshall, of Virginia, Charles C. Pinck-

ney, of South Carolina, and Elbridge Gerry (Republican), of Connecticut, were sent with ample instructions to negotiate a treaty which should atone for the past and give bonds for the future. Arrived in Paris they were not officially received by the wily Talleyrand, now at the head of the Department of Foreign Affairs. Instead he sent at different times three private citizens, representing themselves as authorized to act for him, who demanded bribes, and large loans to France as conditions precedent to a treaty. This was kept up for weeks and instead of obtaining redress our commissioners were abused for the Jay treaty and Adams' policy. Finally these demands were communicated to Adams, who sent a message to Congress without giving the documents. This provoked a dispute in Congress where the truth was not known, until the dispatches were called for. Adams sent these disguising Talleyrand's agents under the ciphers, X, Y, and Z. At once there was an uproar. French sympathy vanished and war seemed inevitable. In Paris, Talleyrand dallied a little longer, and finding Gerry the most pliable, dismissed Marshall and Pinckney, while Gerry foolishly remained in the hope of an accommodation, only to receive a rebuke later and a recall from our State Department.

Congress now resolved on war. Measures were taken at once to increase the regular army and call on the militia to be ready, while a Navy Department was organized and our feeble navy for the first time put on a fighting basis. Adams is justly called the father of the American navy. The Federalists now controlled both branches of Congress but unfortunately went to improper extremes. Three acts were passed which ruined the party forever. These were:

First. The Naturalization Act, by which aliens must

reside here fourteen, instead of five years, to become citizens, while alien enemies could not become naturalized at all.

Second. The Alien Act, by which the President could summarily banish any alien in his discretion who was dangerous to the Republic.

Third. The Sedition Act, which in the guise of an attempt to suppress actual sedition, laid pains and penalties on any hostile criticism of the administration or Congress. Under its provisions mild criticism of the Government became a crime, for "seditious and inflammatory" language included almost anything an anti-Federalist might say in opposition to the policy of the administration. Administration men, on the other hand, could say what they pleased without fear.

These measures passed in the heat of excitement due to impending war, were greatly modified from their original scope by the opposition of Gallatin and a few others. Indeed if the Constitution had permitted Gallatin would have been banished, so bitter was the feeling against him. Jefferson watched all this legislation with complacency, realizing that the Federalist party was already gone mad and must destroy itself.

The new army law contemplated the appointment of Washington as General-in-Chief, with the rank of Lieutenant-General, which he accepted, with the proviso that he should not take the field until active war began. There were to be three Major-Generals and four Brigadiers. Hamilton was anxious to be the ranking officer next to Washington, whose age presumably would keep him in retirement; but Adams detested Hamilton on account of the electoral plot and tried to prevent this. Washington interfered and Hamilton won, with Charles C. Pinckney

and Knox next in order, but Knox declined. The quarrel amounted to little, however, for the war consisted only of a few captures on the sea before peace was secured.

If Adams had been wiser, he would have perceived that France did not want another war on her hands. She was really trying to see how far she could coerce the United States in the hope of getting loans and preventing us from aiding her traditional enemy, Great Britain. When the reports reached France of our preparation for war there was extreme excitement, alleged indignation on the part of Talleyrand, but no preparations for war. Instead, the wily diplomat, seeing the game of bluff had failed, quietly sent word to Adams that a minister would be received on an honorable footing. Adams had determined never to send a minister until this assurance was given, but he was informed by Dr. Logan, of Philadelphia, who had just returned from Paris, that the Directory was really anxious to make peace. This Dr. Logan seems to have taken on himself, without any authority, to act in behalf of this country almost in a diplomatic capacity, fortified by letters from leading Republicans. Congress immediately passed a law preventing such action in the future. The proposal to send a new minister was violently opposed by the Cabinet, which was more under the influence of Hamilton than Adams, and was anxious for war. Indeed, the policy of France at this time was detestable. American vessels were seized and sold on the ground that they violated neutrality laws in carrying food to Great Britain. Sometimes these seizures were officially revoked, but not actually. The Directory would declare in our favor, but secretly its agents did as they pleased. For this reason Adams was disposed to wait awhile to see if France showed any actual disposition to act in a friendly way. Preparations for war went on,

the navy made a few captures and the army was organized. The army proved to be an expensive undertaking and very unpopular, as it always has been in this country. If Adams had been surrounded by his friends he might have had better success, but his Cabinet really plotted against him and he was sorely beset. Under these circumstances Adams had sometimes to act without consulting his Cabinet, which in itself was suspicious, and made more friction. While the war fever was at its height Adams, without warning, sent the name of Wm. Vans Murray, our representative at The Hague, as minister to France. This caused a sensation, and upset the plans of the Federalists, whose whole future was staked on the war. Accordingly it was resolved to reject the nomination, but Adams, learning of this, sent in the names of Chief Justice Ellsworth and Patrick Henry as additional commissioners, and all were confirmed, though the Federalists still clung to the hope that war could not be averted.

Before the story of this mission is told it is necessary to go back a little. The Alien Act, which was of limited duration, was never invoked by Adams, though he was often besought to do so. The Sedition Act, however, was used, not against a foreigner, but first against a Republican member of Congress, one Mathew Lyon, of Vermont. Lyon was an Irish redemptioner, who had served in the Revolutionary War, but had been improperly cashiered for obeying the orders of a superior, and afterward restored to rank. In Vermont he rose to prominence as a business man of great energy and married the daughter of Governor Chittenden. In appearance he was uncouth and assumed a contempt for all forms and ceremonies. He was involved in a personal conflict on the floor of the House with Griswold, of Connecticut, in which the latter was the aggressor, but both

acted most indecorously. Both were reëlected. Lyon was a fierce opponent of the administration and particularly of the Federalist policy. For a political campaign speech which ordinarily would have passed unnoticed, he was tried for sedition, convicted and sentenced to pay $1,000 fine and suffer imprisonment. This was the worst possible move on the part of the over-zealous Federalists, for it made Lyon a martyr, particularly as he was rigorously treated in prison. Both Virginia and Kentucky, under the lead of Madison and Jefferson passed, in 1798-9, vigorous resolutions which bore a leading part in political history for nearly a century. These condemned the Alien and Sedition Acts and declared unconstitutional acts of Congress as null and void, but the policy of nullification was not pushed to the point of forcible resistance. What might have happened, had not the Republicans presently come into power, can only be imagined. Certainly these acts, the persecution of Lyon, and the attempt to force a war policy, ruined the Federalist party forever. It is noteworthy, however, that neither party was entirely right in this contest. The Federalists were anxious for an immediate test of our right to be considered a sovereign Nation and respected as such. A war with France at this time might have made a second war with England unnecessary. It was eighteen years before national respect was gained and a war with France might have secured it more easily than it was gained later. The Republican party generally sympathized with France, but was more moved against the policy of the Federalists, which strove to centralize all national power and destroy the individuality of the States.

Hamilton was at this time the greatest genius of American statesmanship, but he held no civil office, and had only a factional following. At this time the so-called

Miranda Plot was laid but never hatched. This Miranda was an adventurer who proposed to take advantage of the European conflict, seize the Spanish possessions in the South and West and erect a new Empire. This required the assistance of England and the United States, which was never secured and the plot failed. Already Senator Wm. Blount, of Tennessee, had been impeached, in 1797, for treasonable correspondence looking to invasion of Florida, but escaped trial by resigning.

Adams now took the momentous step of sending the commission to France, although peace meant the downfall of the Federalist party. Against the wishes of his Cabinet, the envoys were sent abroad October, 1799. Henry had declined the appointment and Governor Davie, of North Carolina, took his place. A new treaty was made, which practically settled nothing except peace. France refused to pay for spoliations on our commerce, but former treaties were abrogated and general arrangements made for the future, though the convention was to last only eight years. This was ratified, after changes and delay, and peace was brought about. The only important military event was the capture of the French L'Insurgente by the Constitution, Commodore Truxton, after a sharp contest.

As if the Federalists had not done enough to ruin their future, another incident occurred which made a sensation. In some of the Eastern counties of Pennsylvania there had been organized resistance to the collection of war taxes, particularly the window tax. The leader of this movement was one Fries, who was tried and convicted of treason but got a new trial. The Federal Court was presided over by Judge Chase, of Maryland, a man of sterling patriotism but an uncompromising Federalist, who used his position more like a Jeffreys than an American jurist.

His conduct was so overbearing and his decisions so unjust that Fries' counsel threw down their briefs. Fries and two others were convicted of treason but pardoned by the President. These were the only persons in this country sentenced to death for this offense.

When the Sixth Congress met in 1799 the Federalist had a decided majority in both Houses, due to the excitement over the war, although the war fever was now rapidly dying. Theodore Sedgwick, of Massachusetts, was elected Speaker of the House, in which John Randolph, of Roanoke, began his long and picturesque career. The Federalists were not moved by the evident fact that popular approval was fast drifting from their policy. Little important legislation was passed at the first session, awaiting the results of the negotiations at Paris, but war preparations were continued on a limited scale. During the war excitement a Navy Department had been created and our first real navy organized as an effective force. Adams was a firm believer in a navy, but little in an army. The navy was now reduced from the original scope, but it continued for many years as an effective force. This country has always been more liberal toward the navy than the army, with disastrous results to the latter, which were particularly apparent at the breaking out of every war.

In spite of the Jay treaty our relations with Great Britain were not entirely cordial, nor did they become so for many years, but this subject will be treated more fully in the narrative of the next administration.

Adams was a candidate for reëlection, but had not a united party back of him. Hamilton and his friends were opposed to him, but unable to openly supplant him. Once more they resorted to a trick in the hope of defeating him. This time they took up Charles C. Pinckney, of South

Carolina, in the hope that his popularity in the South would gain him votes over Adams. The trick failed, for the Republicans were true to Jefferson and Aaron Burr, the latter a candidate for second honors. Again it was demonstrated that the clumsy plan of an electoral college was a failure. For fear of some trick, each of the Republican electors voted for both Jefferson and Burr, and consequently each had the same vote. As the law then stood, no distinction was made in voting between candidates for President and Vice-President, and the House of Representatives had to choose between them. Adams was defeated by eight votes. The result was Jefferson and Burr, each 73, Adams 65, Pinckney 64 and Jay 1, the last vote being cast by a friend of Adams to defeat Hamilton's plot, though it proved unnecessary. At this time most of the electors were chosen by the Legislatures, though Virginia elected them on a general ticket and two States chose them by districts. If South Carolina had voted for Pinckney instead of Burr and the Jay vote had not been thrown away, Jefferson and Pinckney would have been equal and the House would have chosen the latter, but Pinckney refused to be a party to the scheme and it failed.

And now the brilliant and ambitious Burr, who had never been considered as a candidate for first honors, concluded he had as good a right as Jefferson to the presidency and maneuvered to gain that end. In this peculiar dilemma the Federalists had the unwelcome task of choosing between two rivals. There were sixteen States, and each delegation could cast but one vote. A majority of these delegations were Federalists, but their choice was restricted to Jefferson or Burr. The first ballot showed eight States voting for Jefferson, six for Burr and two blank, because the delegations were equally divided

There were some Federalists who wanted to prolong the balloting so that no election would take place and some wanted to elect Burr. To his credit be it said that Hamilton, much as he detested Jefferson, did not favor any such revolutionary action. Jefferson was the undoubted choice of the people. A new election would give him the place overwhelmingly, while the election of Burr as proposed would be a piece of political villainy the Nation would resent. After a week of balloting and conferring Jefferson was chosen by the votes of ten States, four going to Burr and two not voting. Burr was then designated Vice-President.

Adams by this time had become disgusted with his Cabinet and all too late dismissed Pickering and one of his fellow marplots.

John Marshall became Secretary of State and one of Adams' last acts was to appoint him Chief Justice, a position he filled for more than a generation with high ability. No single man has done more to make the Nation a homogeneous whole than he by his decisions on constitutional questions.

The Federalists used their brief tenure of power in an attempt to bolster up their failing fortunes by passing an elaborate judiciary act which greatly increased the number of District Courts, erected Circuit Courts, and provided fat places for a long list of Judges, Clerks, and Marshals. This advantage was short lived, for the next Congress swept away almost all of the new places and Circuit Judges were not appointed until more than sixty years later.

Congress had now taken possession of its new quarters in Washington which were far from comfortable, but gave promise for the future. The federal city grew steadily in population, but it was many years before it was

comfortable to live in. The roads were muddy and public improvements carried on spasmodically. Some seventy years later an American Hausmann made Washington one of the finest cities in the world, but got only ignominy for his pains. It is often very dangerous to be successful in this country.

Adams left Washington without doing his successor the courtesy of attending on his inauguration—an act characteristic of one whose choleric temper and self-esteem had marred his popularity and ruined his chances for reëlection. Adams was a man of great ability, wide culture, an inflexible honesty. But he was suspicious by nature, over confident of his powers and lacked the plastic touch which enabled Jefferson to constantly keep his party in hand. Adams was his own worst enemy and the failures of his administration were due more to temperament than conviction. He had a stormy time and was obliged often to do those things which personally he did not approve, yet this has been the fate of all Presidents and in no case more conspicuous than that of Jefferson. Party platforms and administration policies have ever been victims of circumstances. Many as were the errors of the Federalists, the Republicans soon found that it was much easier to criticise the administration when in opposition, than to successfully assume all the responsibilities of government.

Washington died at Mount Vernon Dec. 14, 1799, after a brief illness. Congress paid feeling tribute to his memory and the Nation mourned his loss with a unanimity in strong contrast with the abuse that had been heaped on him a few years before. As has been said, no man in our history has been more viciously abused. There was not an epithet in the catalogue of calumny that was not hurled against him. Deep as these shafts sank into his noble

soul, he was outwardly calm, except on occasion when his wrath was terrible. When the officers of the Revolutionary army formed the Society of the Cincinnati with descent based on primogeniture and with secret work of a mysterious character, many cried out that this organization, which was really to perpetuate patriotism, was a mighty engine to make Washington king. It is true that Washington could have made himself King, but his soul revolted at the idea, and he chose to bear calumny in silence, trusting that the future would justify his course. His death for an instant calmed party strife, but before long the bitterness was more intense than ever. Washington was no partisan, though in his second term he was perforce a Federalist, with which party he remained in general sympathy to the last.

The inauguration of Thomas Jefferson marks a new era. Jefferson eschewed all pomp and ceremony, going to the extreme of democratic simplicity. He had laid out a policy which involved the decentralization of national power except where the Constitution expressly provided for it; the exercise of "reserved powers" by the States to a greater extent than the Federalists had practiced; a reduction in national expenses and the maintenance of an honorable peace with foreign powers. Circumstances beyond his control made all these impossible and before he left office he was accused of going to further extremities than the Federalists had dared. He chose for his Cabinet James Madison, of Virginia, Secretary of State; Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; General Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; Levi Lincoln, of Massachusetts, Attorney General; Robert Smith, of Maryland, Secretary of the Navy; and Gideon Granger, of Connecticut, Postmaster General, the latter position now being deemed of suffi-

cient importance to need a man of political strength though not yet fully recognized as a Cabinet minister.

This was a Cabinet of personal friends, strong men, and good counselors, with political following. They served long together and Jefferson's administration was thus strong in the respect in which Adams' was weakest. There was a rush for minor offices, but Jefferson moved slowly—far too much so to suit his party friends, who already set up the claim to the spoils; but it was not until Jackson's time that it became established. As Federalists resigned or died Republicans were usually appointed to fill vacancies. In the first fourteen months he removed only about sixteen Federalists from office without definite charges, and after that very few for the rest of his two terms. He believed in maintaining good and capable men and did so, save in exceptional cases. The outcry for office disgusted him as it has every President since that time, but there were times when he did not hesitate to remove officials who were guilty of what was in later years termed "offensive partisanship."

One chief reduction of expense was in cutting down diplomatic establishments abroad. He believed in the policy of isolation, and as our treaties with France and Great Britain expired, they were not renewed. Ordinarily this might have worked no damage, but before his term was out a situation arose that made the lack of treaty stipulations very embarrassing.

In 1800 the country was in a state of great prosperity, due partly to inherent resources and partly to the foreign wars. Napoleon was now embarked on his career of European Empire, which lasted fifteen years. If his "continental system" could have been established, all Europe would have been reduced to vassalage under the domination of the Emperor. For a dozen years it

seemed likely that this policy would prevail. Napoleon's "star" seemed ever in the ascendant. It must not be forgotten, however, that it was not alone Napoleon's generalship or French arms which brought about victories. In those days of absolutism, Napoleon generally managed to keep Europe divided. Sometimes he counted some nations as allies, sometimes as neutrals, so that he could defeat his enemies in detail. He was as skillful in making combinations in diplomacy as on the field of battle. When a coalition was made against him he was brought to book. No Nation viewed the Bonaparte policy with more alarm than Great Britain, and it was largely due to her energy and perseverence that the struggle was kept up which ended in the exile to St. Helena. We can see that Great Britain was correct in her policy, that it was best for all concerned, the United States included, but we could not then nor now see that the brusque, overbearing policy of Great Britain toward all neutrals was just or necessary. Nor must we forget that it was Napoleon who eventually broke down absolutism and made modern constitutional monarchies on the continent possible. Napoleon had his faults and his merits, and the world is better for his career, though not in the direction he anticipated. In the contest that lasted from the French Revolution to Waterloo, Great Britain's sole policy was to curb France. She would do anything or refuse to do anything that would advance this end, and hence, against our own wishes, we were drawn into the European vortex. It was here that the Jefferson policy broke down. We could refuse to interfere in foreign affairs, but could not prevent foreign nations from interfering with ours. Thus did a condition upset Jefferson's cheerful philosophy.

The census of 1800 disclosed a population of 5,308,-

483, a gain in ten years of more than 35 per cent. West of the Alleghanies were the thriving States of Kentucky and Tennessee (the latter admitted in 1796), while Ohio was almost ready for admission. The first two had been largely populated from Virginia and North Carolina. In the whole West there were some 400,000 souls, mostly whites, and the population increased to an extent that alarmed many of our statesmen, who feared it would be impossible to maintain perfect harmony with the Eastern States. Of the total population New England contained about 1,200,000, the Middle States 1,400,000 and the Southern States about 2,200,000, the rest being in the West. North of Mason and Dixon's line were about 2,600,000 whites and 100,000 slaves and free negroes, slavery being gradually abandoned. To the south were only 1,300,000 whites, the rest (900,000) being slaves. In the North were all the large cities, except Charleston and Baltimore. In the South the population was almost exclusively agricultural, while there were diversified interests in the North. Aside from agriculture the greatest single industry was shipping, which was largely confined to New England, New York, and Philadelphia. Manufacturing had developed, though largely by personal labor in the houses, rather than through factories.

The growth of our foreign commerce was shown by the fact that our exports in 1800 were valued at $70,000,000 as against $20,000,000 in 1792, while the imports were $91,000,000 as compared with $31,000,000. The federal income had risen in the same period from $3,600,000 to $10,600,000, and the expense of government, exclusive of interest on the public debt, from $1,800,000 to exceeding $7,000,000, the increase to the latter sum being largely on account of the preparations for war

with France. The federal debt in the same period increased from $77,000,000 to $82,000,000, the increase also being on account of the war. Jefferson did succeed in reducing the debt, but was unable to extinguish it owing to the Louisiana purchase and the troubles with Great Britain. Our revenues were derived largely from customs dues, but the government policy of selling public lands in small lots to actual settlers on easy terms brought in an increasing revenue, which eventually paid the debt of the second war with Great Britain and developed a handsome surplus.

Two inventions had a great effect upon the development of the country in different directions. The invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1793 fixed the social and economic status of the South. The invention of the spinning jenny and the steam engine had greatly decreased the cost of all fabrics, but cotton goods were still very expensive, due to the fact that it cost an enormous amount of labor to extract the cotton seed from the fiber. Eli Whitney was in Georgia on a visit to the widow of General Green, of Revolutionary fame, where his mechanical ingenuity in constructing toys, led the widow to induce him to try to make a machine for mechanically separating cotton fiber from the seeds. His success made cotton the great staple of America, enhanced the value of slave labor, made voluntary emancipation impossible and developed a political aristocracy of cotton planters. The South then felt it a hardship that the importation of slaves after 1808 had been prohibited by the Constitution. It was unfortunate for the South that its growing wealth was not turned to the development of local culture. School systems in the South have never reached the Northern standard. In the South development of literature, the fine arts, and even of domes-

tic luxuries was slow, so that men of moderate means in the North were astonished that Southerners could put up with so many inconveniences that were unnecessary. In some respects the differences were due to climate and inherited tendencies, but more to the domestic institution of slavery. The great plantations grew and developed a sort of feudal political system. The masses took the cue from the educated, the well born, and the rich. Wealth, however, was different from that in the North, where money was turned over rapidly in business and commerce. The planter settled his affairs only once a year, when his crop was harvested, invested the surplus in more land and slaves, and was in debt much of the time in spite of his large assets. In time manual labor lost that respect which it commanded in the North, where necessity compelled almost everyone to work incessantly. The rising young men of the South were generally educated in the North, which was also at this time sending a large population to the Northwest Territory, where its influence on politics was permanent.

The second invention came later, but its effect on our history is no less important than that of Whitney. When Hamilton and Miranda were discussing the new Empire in the Southwest it involved difficulties and distances hard to be estimated at this time, owing to the tedious and dangerous method of transportation. When in 1803 Jefferson gained the Louisiana tract by purchase, he viewed the accession with mixed emotions. It was true that the territory was vast and valuable, but Jefferson feared a new Republic in the Mississippi Valley that might overwhelm the parent federation. These fears were so genuine that New England people were alarmed to a state that seems now ridiculous. Many said that the downfall of the Republic was at hand, just as they

afterward did when we gained the Philippines. The invention of the steamboat by Fitch and Fulton was like the touch of the magician's wand, for in an incredibly brief period steamboats plied over the western waters and brought New Orleans in close touch with the East.

The ever-hopeful Jefferson started his administration with little friction and most flattering prospects. His scheme to cut down the navy was postponed until the Barbary pirates were settled with. Following the custom of European nations we had been paying annual tribute for immunity from the Algerines. In 1800 when Captain Bainbridge appeared in Algiers with the annual tribute, the Bey forced him to take an ambassador to Constantinople. This he did with bad grace under duress, but when the Bey of Tripoli and the Bashaw of Tunis also demanded tribute, Jefferson refused and sent Commodore Preble with a fleet to bring the pirates to terms. This was finally accomplished and the pirates bothered us no more. Two brilliant exploits illumine this war. The frigate Philadelphia struck on a rock in the harbor of Tripoli and was captured with her crew by the natives. Lieutenant Decatur, with some brave followers, rowed into the harbor on the night of February 16, 1804, drove off the pirates and blew up the vessel, returning without the loss of a man. Richard Somers, with a crew, made another night entry into the harbor, but failing in his efforts, blew up his ketch with all on board.

This brought the navy into favor and we were therefore better prepared in 1812 for a war on the seas than we should otherwise have been. The army was greatly reduced and civic expenses reduced as much as possible.

In 1802 Jefferson learned with alarm that Spain had

in 1800, secretly ceded back to France all the territory gained after the French and Indian war. The importance to us arose from the fact that this territory called Louisiana controlled the navigation of the Mississippi, which was of vast importance to the people of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, which had just been admitted as a State (1802). We had succeeded in getting from Spain the right to freely navigate the river through her territory, and what was of more importance obtained the privilege of making New Orleans a base of deposit for our merchandise. This concession, however, was suddenly revoked, with the result that our trade was ruined. Jefferson accordingly instructed Edward Livingston, our Minister to Paris, to urge strongly upon Napoleon the purchase on our part of what was called "the island of New Orleans" on the east side of the river. Talleyrand at first conducted the negotiation with his usual baffling policy, until Monroe arrived in Paris, who joined Livingston in the negotiation. Suddenly Napoleon turned on Livingston and asked how he would like to buy the whole Louisiana territory, stretching from the Mississippi river to Mexico and the Rocky Mountains. Such a proposition came very much as would now an offer of Great Britain to sell us the whole of the Dominion of Canada. Livingston consulted Monroe, and, though they were without authority, resolved to make the bargain, not without a feeling that there was some ulterior motive on the part of Napoleon. The only motive was money, of which the conqueror stood in great need, with possibly the hope that the sale would bring the friendship of this country at a time when he should need it against Great Britain. The bargain was quickly struck, Talleyrand not appearing in this negotiation, because of the X, Y, Z controversy. Napoleon's minimum was 50,-

000,000 francs, but Barbé-Marbois, who acted for him, offered first to sell for 100,000,000 and finally took 80,000,000, which would equal about $15,000,000 of our money, according to the rate of exchange. We were to pay $11,250,000 in 6 per cent bonds and assume $3,750,000 of claims of our own people against France for the spoliations of our commerce. We agreed to give French shipping equal rights with ours for twelve years, and forever on the basis of the most favored Nation. The ceded citizens were assured the rights in religion and property and were in due time to become citizens. This took but a few days to settle, and our commissioners were astounded at their success. Finding, after the bargain was struck, that the terms delimiting this territory were indefinite, they tried later to find whether Louisiana included the Floridas, but were met with evasive answers. We got all that Spain got from France, but whether this included West Florida or not was uncertain. It would not do to ask Spain, for that Nation was ignorant of the transaction, and great was her wrath on hearing of it, when it was too late. She then resisted our effort to include even West Florida in the cession, but we finally took it by force. The southwestern boundary was not stated and not settled for many years. The treaty was signed May 2, 1803, and great was the excitement in America when the news became known. The treaty was ratified in spite of Jefferson's own belief that it was unconstitutional thus to acquire territory, and the objections from the East that it would ruin the country. In spite of all fears the people considered it a good bargain and decided that the sovereignty of the Nation gave the right to acquire territory as might be desired. Thus by a stroke of the pen our territory was almost doubled. We controlled

the Mississippi from its source to the sea and all of its tributaries. No one then realized how quick would be the development of this new accession. It was looked on as a heritage for generations far distant. There are men living (1899) who were born before this purchase, when its total population was a few thousand souls. In 1890 it contained about 12,000,000 inhabitants, with Missouri ranking as the fifth State in the Union.

To return to the routine of legislation. The Seventh Congress met in December, 1801, and was Republican in both branches. Most of the older statesmen were missing and new blood had come to the front. Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, was elected Speaker of the House, with Randolph chairman of the important Committee on Ways and Means. Gallatin's financial schedule included the complete removal of the internal revenue tax, and this was done to the dismay of many Federalist officeholders who lost their jobs. The expenses of the army and navy were reduced to as low a point as possible, and the military academy at West Point was opened. This rigid economy reduced the ordinary expenses from $7,500,000 a year to less than $4,000,000. This was justly considered a wonderful achievement, but some of the reductions were unwise in view of what followed. The Circuit Courts, as noted, were abolished and an amendment to the Constitution sent to the States, which was duly adopted, whereby the electoral juggling that nearly lost Jefferson the Presidency was made impossible. The term for naturalization was reduced once more to five years. The alien and sedition laws had expired by limitation. Thus was almost all of the Federalist special legislation swept aside. The leading Federalists said the country was done for. That Jefferson was an atheist, that most Republicans were fools and

blockheads, that only the educated, the wise, and the wealthy—in other words the Federalists—were competent to govern, was their confident belief, and hence dissolution might soon be expected. The bitterest drop in the Federalist cup was the success of Jefferson's first administration in the face of all the false prophecies of ruin. Later they had their innings.

The provisions of the Jay treaty were executed, by which the claims of citizens of each country against the other were settled and ours received more than twice as much as the British claimants. So far nothing had occurred to interfere with Jefferson's plans, and he listened to Federalist ravings with complacency. During the second session of the First Congress of this administration the island of New Orleans purchase was agreed upon and $2,000,000 appropriated for the purpose. Hamilton would have made a refusal the basis of war, but fortunately no such issue arose. Before the Louisiana cession Spain restored the right to deposit merchandise which was ours by treaty, and France actually was not warm in possession before the sale to the United States was made. A special session of the Eighth Congress provided all the legislation for the purchase, the Republicans being in an overwhelming majority. One of the new members from Kentucky was Mathew Lyon, who had so recently suffered political martyrdom at the hands of the Federalists, who were now reduced to a faction.

Judge Chase, whose conduct in the Fries treason cases, and on various other occasions had outraged propriety, was now impeached and tried before the bar of the Senate. The previous Senate had condemned Judge Pickering, of the New Hampshire district federal bench, although there is every reason to believe he was insane.

Chase, therefore, was supposed to stand a good chance of conviction, but Randolph, who was in charge of the affair, conducted it unskillfully. The charges were not well drawn and were poorly presented. Chase had, indeed, been guilty of gross conduct in trying cases. He was a partisan by no means beyond using his position to make it unpleasant for his political enemies, but while his conduct had been highly reprehensible, it hardly came within the limits laid down for impeachment. His age, patriotic services, and sacrifices told in his favor and he escaped conviction, though the lesson was not lost on the federal judges throughout the country.

In spite of all the criticisms of Jefferson's enemies and in spite of his limitations, there have been few administrations so successful as his first. It is worth recording that there has seldom been a second administration that has been anything like as satisfactory as the first. Jefferson's reputation has been injured by his friends almost as much as by his political foes. His theories have generally been approved in the abstract. He loved his fellow man. He despised pomp and eschewed anything that distinguished him from the ordinary citizen. He was devoted to the arts of peace, fostered agriculture by precept and example, strove to make personal independence the highest virtue, abhorred slavery, wanted every man to have a chance and improve it, believed that men were best governed who least felt the control of government, tried to lighten public burdens and increase knowledge, sought not glory for himself, but preferred that the highest title should be that of citizenship. As a friend of humanity, as a theoretical philosopher, and as a leader of men in times of profound peace Jefferson has had no superior

in our history. Jackson used the rod to compel party obedience; Jefferson led them without the knowledge that they were controlled. But for the events soon to be recorded, Jefferson must have retired from office with a reputation forever fixed and unassailable. His failures were due to his sublime optimism, to his anticipation of the millennium, and ignoring the means by which in this human life all controversies must be settled. It has well been said that it takes two parties to make a quarrel. It is equally true that it takes two parties to avoid one. Jefferson failed to fully comprehend the latter proposition.

To conclude this narrative of his first term, it should be said that he treated the Indians kindly but firmly, dispatched Lewis and Clarke on an overland expedition to the Oregon country, which confirmed our title to that disputed territory, sought to introduce improved live stock from abroad, and fostered culture and education to the best of his ability.

In his administration occurred a great tragedy, which left a profound impression. Aaron Burr, the restless, ambitious, and unscrupulous politician, found the Vice-Presidency irksome and risked his future on his candidacy for the Governorship of New York in 1804, when he knew that Jefferson would not have him again as a running mate. The contest was a peculiar one, as Burr was opposed by most of his own party and supported by a faction of the Federalists. He lost the election. Attributing his failure to Hamilton, he demanded of him impossible disavowals, with the alternative of a meeting on "the field of honor." Hamilton was yet a young man with a great future before him, but the ethics of his age demanded a duel. To this meeting Hamilton went after careful prep-

COMMODORE PERRY IN THE NIAGARA BREAKING THE BRITISH LINE OF BATTLE, LAKE ERIE, SEPT. 10, 1813.

Painting by J. O. Davidson

aration and without expectation of survival. He fired his pistol in the air and fell dead from Burr's bullet. The death of Hamilton created a sensation that can scarcely be appreciated now. At the time he was the leader of a mere remnant in politics, yet he was admired by his worst enemies. Born in the West Indies, of unknown parentage, he had reached prominence when in his teens. Serving on the staff of Washington, he became one of the most beloved of his military family, and when called to the Presidency Washington chose him for the post of honor and danger. The Constitution was forced by the need of a national fiscal policy. If Hamilton had failed, the Constitution could scarcely have survived. His success was not only instantaneous but phenomenal, not only in our own history, but in all history. He created credit. He put the Nation on its financial feet. He brooked no obstacles. He was no philosopher. He did things. Yet he had his limitations. Could one man have combined in himself the qualities of Hamilton and Jefferson, he would have made the greatest statesman of all time. Could the two have worked together in Washington's cabinet, the results must have been most desirable. But this was impossible. They were antagonistic in every sense. Equally gifted, equally great, each lacked what the other possessed; nor had either the divining quality to see the other's greatness. Hamilton deserved much of his adopted country, but received little. He was imperious, resourceful, uncompromising. Many of his schemes were visionary, unpolitic, impracticable; yet what he actually accomplished fixed the destiny of the Nation. The somewhat florid funeral oration of Eliphalet Knott has become fixed in our literature and every school boy knows it by heart. Hamilton had his faults, but

his untimely death was a loss so great that the Nation mourned in genuine sorrow. Had he lived until the crisis that soon came his commanding abilities must have forced him into a place where he would have been of the highest service to the Nation.*

A few more words as to Burr. Despised and rejected, he sought a few years later to establish an Empire in the Southwest. His seductive arguments carried away men of good judgment, and an abortive attempt to detach the Mississippi Valley from the Union failed in its incipiency. Burr, in 1807, was tried for treason. Escaping on a technicality, he fled abroad, and returning, lived and died in poverty, ignored by those whom he had once counted his friends. The two saddest careers in our history are those of Arnold and Burr, both men of commanding ability, but devoid of that moral worth without which no man is truly great. The reëlection of Jefferson was a foregone conclusion. He chose as a running mate George Clinton, of New York. Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, was the Federalist candidate for President, with Rufus King, of New York, who had long been our Minister in London, as running mate. The electoral vote was 162 for Jefferson and Clinton to 14 for Pinckney and King, the latter carrying only Connecticut and Delaware, with two votes in Maryland, which still adhered to the district system.

The two administrations of Jefferson have been very aptly likened to Pharaoh's dream, wherein the lean kine ate up the well-favored kine and were no fatter than before. All the reputation that Jefferson gained in his first administration was swept away in the second. The history of the Nation in its complete details from 1805 to 1813 is in many respects more interesting than that of

*See Volume "American Statesmen."

any other period to the historian, though its general results can be briefly summarized. Jefferson's first term was somewhat disturbed by the European wars, but the Peace of Amiens had brought a temporary relief. When the war broke out once more it became more bitter than ever and neutrals were no longer accorded any rights. From 1793 to 1802 we had suffered from the spoliation of our commerce by both Great Britain and France. International law is one of those subjects which no one pretends is an exact science, but its development is full of interest. Originally might was considered to make right, but gradually certain principles of abstract justice have come to be recognized by civilized nations, wherein humane considerations have triumphed over primitive barbarism. At the period in question these principles were imperfectly developed and more imperfectly practiced. Brushing aside abstract theories we can well see how irritating it was both to Great Britain and France to see the United States developing rapidly as a neutral commercial power. Our ships were fleet and well manned. Our ample harvests afforded a surplus of provisions, which were sold abroad. Napoleon did not like to see us taking food, necessary to her existence, to England. Nor did the latter country approve of our taking supplies to France. There was a further grievance, already mentioned, which finally proved the greatest of all. England's power was in her navy, as it had been for 200 years, yet so badly were her sailors treated that it was impossible to get sufficient volunteers, and an outrageous law permitted the forcible impressment of every able-bodied seaman into the service of the Royal navy. In addition landsmen were seized and impressed, while convicts were sentenced to long sea duty. This was no concern of ours until British ships

of war began to forcibly stop our merchantmen or lesser war craft and take off alleged deserters and force them into service. Now there is no doubt whatever that the deserters were numerous. The British sailor who served for a mere pittance was not slow to desert when he could secure higher wages on an American merchantman. In truth, we were getting all the carrying trade, for British and French merchantmen were almost driven from the seas by hostile navies, and some of this carrying trade under our flag was really fraudulent. If British officers had taken only deserters we would not have complained, but the fact was that men were needed so badly that no effort was made to decide actual citizenship. Anyone speaking English was deemed a Briton and impressed into service. Thus it came about that many former Britons who had taken out naturalization papers in the United States were impressed. But as Great Britain did not then admit the right of denationalization, we had only a technical ground of complaint, since no treaty stipulations covered the point. The crowning act of criminal folly on Great Britain's part came when she seized English speaking or other persons indiscriminately and impressed them into her service, until thousands of American born citizens or citizens under the Treaty of Paris, were impressed into the British navy and forced to fight her enemies. This latter practice became the more common after the war was renewed between Napoleon and Great Britain. Indeed, Great Britain was in desperate straits due to the proposed invasion of Napoleon and she had no scruples whatever in doing anything to defeat the expected invader. The victory of Trafalgar almost destroyed the sea power of France and the invasion was never made.

One of our grievances against Great Britain was

that we could not freely trade with the British West Indies, where our products were in demand. The old selfish, narrow, policy still prevailed, and we were almost entirely excluded, though we could trade with French and Spanish colonies freely, and this even the greater part of the whole. But as France (of which Spain was now a dependency) was at war with Great Britain, it was somewhat dangerous to carry produce from these islands directly to France or Spain, as British cruisers were on the constant lookout. The clever American conceived the happy plan of bringing the goods first to an American port, landing them and paying duty and then reshipping them to France or Spain, in which case nearly all the duty was refunded. In this way we did a thriving trade, and it is no wonder that Great Britain objected, seeing that we gave aid and comfort to her enemies. Her courts, however, first decided that such roundabout trade was legal and merchants did a thriving business. Later the same court decided the trade illegal and such ships contraband, and almost ruined this thriving traffic. The whole question involved was this: What rights in trade has a neutral Nation between two nations at war? It soon appeared that neither France nor Great Britain proposed to give neutrals any rights at all, as each considered all other nations as either for or against one or the other in the struggle.

Great Britain began the trouble in 1806 by declaring a blockade of the greater part of France which bordered on the Atlantic. Under this act, theoretically, all commerce was forbidden. Many years later it was agreed that a blockade must be effective or its violation was no offense. Great Britain only made a portion of the blockade effective, and while some American vessels were captured many successfully carried their cargoes

where war prices made great profits. This Order in Council by the British was met by Napoleon, who issued his Berlin Decrees declaring all of the British Isles in a state of blockade. Napoleon had no power to make this effective and our vessels still carried supplies to Great Britain, though many were captured by French frigates. The trade became exciting and dangerous, but the profits were worth the risk.

In this situation Jefferson sought a good understanding with Great Britain, and sent Monroe and William Pinkney to make a new treaty to replace the Jay treaty which was expiring by limitation. Our commissioners found the task most difficult. The British statesmen were brusque, and our country seemed of little importance except as a factor in the continental war. The new treaty was so undesirable that it reduced us to little less than a vassal state of Great Britain. Monroe and Pinckney must have felt that Napoleon was to be crushed at all hazards or they never would have signed a treaty which Jefferson returned without so much as submitting it to the Senate. The situation naturally became more strained. In 1807 Great Britain issued Orders in Council which practically forbade, under penalty of forfeiture, any neutral trade with the continent so far as it was controlled by Napoleon—which was nearly the whole—unless the goods were first landed at Great Britain and duty paid on them. Napoleon thereupon in the same year issued his Milan Decree, which forbade under penalty of forfeiture any neutral to obey the British regulation. Between these two orders, our commerce was practically ruined. If we tried to trade with Great Britain French frigates seized our merchantmen. If we tried to trade with the Continent, British frigates pounced down. Between these two millstones our com-

merce was being ruined. Napoleon seized our vessels on any pretext and sold them. Great Britain did the same. No Nation of any spirit could stand this sort of thing, and Jefferson was at his wits' end for a policy. One might suppose that the question would have settled itself by the refusal of our vessels to engage in such a dangerous trade, but the risks were gladly taken in consideration of the profits that accrued to a successful voyage.

Jefferson could either side with Napoleon or Great Britain, and thus become actually engaged in the war. One can hardly understand the stupidity of the gross ignorance of British statesmen, which in this critical moment led them to quarrel with this country. Had Pinkney and Monroe secured a generous treaty, it must have been more to Great Britain's advantage than ours. Unluckily for Great Britain she refused, and an alliance with France, whose naval power had been shattered, was impossible, since she could not have guaranteed us the protection we desired. In this dilemma Jefferson proposed and Congress adopted the Embargo policy. This was nothing more nor less than the absolute prohibition of all foreign commerce whatever. The reason for this remarkable step was that Jefferson felt any other course to be impossible. He could not side with either Great Britain or France, while to tamely submit to the arbitrary destruction of our commerce by both simply acknowledged to the world that we were not a sovereign Nation. The feeling against Great Britain was embittered by the fact that on June 22, 1807, when our frigate Chesapeake put to sea from Norfolk with a green crew and the vessel not well in hand, she was followed by the British ship Leopard. The American commander was unsuspicious and so supine, that when the Leopard opened fire he could not reply. The Chesapeake was

soon obliged to strike her colors, the British came aboard, seized three Americans and one Briton and sailed away. The excitement all over the country was intense. British vessels were ordered out of our waters, and though the British government officially disavowed the act, it was evident that her general policy was not to be changed.

The Embargo Act was passed December 22, 1807, and was reinforced by subsequent legislation. Jefferson's idea was that our trade was so essential to Great Britain and France that either or both would recede from their position. It is true that both suffered somewhat, but each was glad we were not helping the other, so that we got no direct benefit. On the other hand our carrying trade was ruined, agriculture became profitless and there was a sudden fall from our prosperity to great want and business depression. New England suffered most, as the shipping was mostly owned there, but the South also suffered, as tobacco, cotton, and rice could no longer be sent abroad. Business was paralyzed. Finally the outcry became so great that the Embargo was removed at the end of Jefferson's term, and he left office with the popular feeling very bitter against him. Yet he was able to turn over his office to Madison and Clinton by an overwhelming majority. The electoral college stood Madison 122 to 47 for C. C. Pinckney, while Clinton had six votes for the Presidency. The increase in Pinckney's vote over 1804 was considerable, but Republicanism was too well grounded to be overthrown. Members of Congress at this time nominated candidates for the two offices. The Federalist party revived a little, but could not regain power. The country was not satisfied with the Embargo, but it could not forget Jefferson's success in other respects. In one

respect the Embargo was of advantage. Since New England's shipping was gone, there was left the alternative of starvation or new employment. It was characteristic of her energy, thrift, and ingenuity that New England turned her talents to manufacturing, and in this period of national war was laid the foundations of a future more prosperous than shipping could possibly have afforded her under any circumstances.

James Madison, justly styled the Father of the Constitution for the preëminent part he took in securing the convention, the adoption and ratification of the instrument, was one of the purest of our statesmen, yet not without well defined limitations. He was a disciple of Jefferson and never learned the difference between the theory and practice of Government. Like Jefferson he sought in diplomacy to gain ends by appealing to self interest, expecting by an exchange of favors on just consideration to win his ends. He was too much of a philosopher to comprehend that human passion is stronger than principle and was temperamentally unable to rightly gauge the strategic situation. With Jefferson he had served eight years, only to find their fine spun theories ridiculed by the crafty Napoleon and the brusque British ministry. It should be said in fairness, that the alternative of war was so dreadful that they properly shrunk from it. In point of fact, we were not recognized as a Nation and it was a delicate matter to determine when the bold move should be made. The Embargo did partly bring Great Britain to terms, for she felt the loss of our commerce terribly. Nevertheless, the Briton has a tenacity of purpose which is proverbial and moves slowly. When the Embargo was removed it was still enforced against France and Great Britain, but the President could lift it in favor of either Nation or both when they should respect our sovereignty.

Madison was unfortunate in inheriting a quarrel that grew constantly worse. He was also unfortunate in that he lacked the plastic touch of administration which Jefferson enjoyed in such full measure. Madison could not control his party and at the very outset fell into a snare that cost him dear. By every consideration of merit, faithful service, and seniority Gallatin should have been made Secretary of State and such was Madison's intention, but he fell easily into a political snare which augured ill for the future. In spite of all theories, all abstract considerations and terrible denunciations of Federalists, the Republicans were shrewd politicians. There are some who would have us believe that machine politics is a recent creation, that the fathers were guileless, innocent, and unselfish. The reverse is true. Political depravity was greater in the beginning of this century than now, and that this was possible was largely due to the fact that there was little organized public opinion and what existed was feebly expressed. Newspapers were personal organs and usually venal. They had little circulation and small influence. The control of politics was vested in the very few and if the Republicans were more democratic than the Federalists it was in small degree aside from mere theories. In consequence Madison was handicapped by a machine and one of the leaders of the machine was Senator Samuel Smith, of Maryland, a man of great wealth and influence. His machinations forced on Madison his brother, Robert Smith, who had been Secretary of the Navy, as Secretary of State, who was totally unfit for the position. In consequence Madison had to be his own Secretary of State, writing his own dispatches for Smith to copy, while Gallatin remained in the Treasury. The rest of the Cabinet was made up of William Eustis, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; Paul Hamilton, of

South Carolina, Secretary of the Navy, and Cæsar A. Rodney, of Delaware, Attorney-General. This was a respectable Cabinet, but Gallatin alone was a man of the first rank.

Many changes followed. Madison took up the quarrels of Jefferson with which he had been so closely associated, and tried to effect a settlement. As this whole administration was given up to this attempt, which resulted in war, it will be briefly passed over. The non-intercourse policy, which succeeded the Embargo, failed also and in 1810 it was repealed, but it was provided that if either France or Great Britain revoked the hateful decrees against our commerce, the President should declare non-intercourse with the Nation which did not revoke them. This was a bid for the friendship of one of the Nations. Then ensued a diplomatic correspondence which was not creditable to the administration. Napoleon was shrewd and unscrupulous. After our diplomatists had been completely outwitted until Madison believed untruly that France had, and Great Britain, practically, had revoked the decrees, he once more completely opened our commerce only to find that he had been deceived. The British ambassador, Erskine, made a treaty much in our favor, but Great Britain promptly repudiated it, which made the situation worse. If it had been ratified much trouble would have been avoided.

Madison also tried to get from France a clear statement as to whether or no the Louisiana cession included the Floridas. Failing this, he forcibly took a part of West Florida, being that territory adjacent to Mobile, and in 1812 seized all West of the present boundary of Florida, which led to another quarrel with Spain, which was not settled for some years.

The great domestic question of the administration was

the recharter of the National Bank, which by limitation expired in 1811. This institution was the sole fiscal agent of the Government, received all its money and paid all drafts. It was economical, safe and had been a mighty engine in maintaining our credit. Recharter failed by a narrow margin in Congress, for it was opposed to the Republican theories, and even Gallatin's influence and manifest advantage could not save it. Thereupon Gallatin resigned, all the more because Senator Smith, who had prevented his promotion, had fought the bill. This Madison could not accept. Robert Smith was dismissed and Monroe, who had been in retirement since the disastrous failure of his treaty, was made Secretary of State, though he had been accounted a political foe of the administration.

Two events now tended toward war with Great Britain, for Napoleon, who was equally an offender, had diplomatically outclassed this government.

On May 16, 1811, Captain Rodgers, of the frigate President, was cruising off Cape Hatteras when he fell in with the British sloop-of-war Little Belt. A misunderstanding arose and for reasons not fully explained an engagement took place in which the Little Belt was badly crippled. Each accused the other of firing the first shot and it is not known to this day who was the aggressor, but the result was hailed with joy all over the country as a revenge for the affair of the Chesapeake and fanned the war fever. This happened just as a new British minister had arrived to apologize for the Chesapeake affair, and he, of course, awaited further instructions.

In the same year occurred an uprising of Indians in the West, which at one time looked very serious. The British agents in Canada had continued to stir up the Indians against the United States, which caused much friction. There arose now two remarkable chiefs among

the Shawnee tribe in Indiana, who planned a general uprising that should destroy our rule West of the Alleghanies. These two brothers were Tecumseh, a warrior chief, and Elkswatawa, a medicine man or priest, commonly known as the "Prophet." These were men of ability and cunning. They preached a general uprising of all the Indian tribes in the country and succeeded in stirring up great excitement among the redmen. With no proper organization or equipment such a movement was bound to fail, but it was nipped in the bud by General William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Northwest Territory. After considerable palaver, in which the Indian chiefs professed friendship Harrison did not believe, and which their marauding belied, Harrison suddenly fell on the Indian allies at Tippecanoe, the Prophet's town, near Terre Haute, and in the absence of Tecumseh, utterly defeated them, after a hard battle, and broke the power of the confederacy. Tecumseh fled to Canada and the knowledge of aid he secured there increased resentment against Great Britain. On top of this came the Henry exposure. John Henry, a British agent, had been in this country seeking to stir up political factions and to fan the Federalist resentment against the administration. Having a falling out with the ministry he sold the correspondence in his possession to Madison for $50,000. This showed a great defection in New England, and while no one was incriminated it disclosed that Great Britain was secretly trying to bring about a civil war. After this, the preservation of peace was no longer possible unless Great Britain backed down, which she did not do in time.

The Twelfth Congress chose Henry Clay, of Kentucky, as Speaker. Clay, who had already served a part of a term in the Senate, was now the coming man in Congress. He was the first of the vigorous, breezy Western states-

men. He was bold, earnest, and defiant. In the House the young men who had grown up since the Revolution were in the ascendant. John C. Calhoun and Langdon Cheeves of South Carolina, were men who became leaders at the start and were particularly the leaders of the party of War Hawks who declared that negotiations should end and war begin. Randolph had fallen from influence, but was still a picturesque and brilliant free lance. On April 4, 1812, a ninety days Embargo was laid, preliminary to war, and June 18 war was formally declared against Great Britain. Hurried measures were passed to raise funds, enroll militia and increase the army and navy to prepare for the contest. Canada was looked upon as the battle ground, though the actual military force at hand was ludicrously small.

As a matter of fact Great Britain had already repealed the obnoxious orders in Council, but this did not become known for weeks. Quick communication might have prevented war, but, perhaps, it was necessary to show to the world that we could maintain our position by force if necessary.

Surely the country was ill prepared for war. The army was small, munitions were scarce; of able generals there were almost none, while the Treasury was not prepared to raise the money needed for the strife. Moreover the country was by no means unanimous in favor of the war. New England was largely against it and the financial centers as a whole were opposed to it. The National Bank was gone and the only way to raise money was by an appeal for subscriptions to bonds. New England leaders had never been satisfied with Republican rule, but success of the administration of Jefferson had carried some of the States in its favor. A reaction now set in and the subscriptions to bonds in New England were almost nil.

Indeed if Stephen Girard, the Philadelphia banker, a native Frenchman, had not come forward at a critical moment with a loan of $5,000,000 the treasury would have been bankrupt.

The first year of the war consisted in one series of disastrous failures on land and brilliant victories on the sea. The war will be treated as a whole, and an interruption is here made to announce that Madison was reëlected, though the opposition was formidable, and for a time it seemed as if a coalition had been formed which would have defeated him. Eldridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, who has added the term "gerrymander" to our political lexicon, was chosen Vice-President. The opposition candidates were De Witt Clinton, of New York, and Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania. The electoral vote stood: Madison, 128; Clinton, 89. This seems like a comfortable majority, but Pennsylvania alone turned the scale. Even then Clinton would have won had he carried North Carolina and either Vermont or Ohio, all of which were confidently claimed by the Federalists. This was the last National stand of the father party and they now practically disappeared from politics.

Few persons realize that George III was still King of Great Britain at this time, but he was no longer the ambitious, bull-headed man of fifty years previous. He was practically an imbecile and Great Britain was governed by a ministry which contained hard headed, gruff men who could see or would see nothing but Napoleon, for whose destruction they worked unceasingly. Strange as it may seem to us, after all the bitter affronts to our representatives, the terrible spoliation of our commerce, the wholesale impressment of our seamen amounting to worse than slavery, the aid given to barbarous Indians and the continuous insults to the Nation, the British Ministry was

not only surprised but professed itself hurt at the declaration of war and really believed it was paving the way for a good understanding. It is not remarkable that a war was necessary to enlighten such an intellectual status. Had this country been prepared to strike quick and hard, Canada would soon have been ours. Unfortunately this country never has been prepared for war, has always suffered terribly for its neglect of so plain a duty, yet the lessons of every conflict up to and including the Spanish War of 1898 seem to have taught Congress little of the virtues of being forearmed.

The Canada campaign of 1812 reads almost like a comic history. Three attempts were made, or rather were to be made: one by way of Lake Champlain, one at Buffalo and one at Detroit, while General Harrison was to raise an army in the South and West to follow up expected victories. Governor Hull, of Michigan Territory, crossed from Detroit into Canada July 12, 1812, with 2,200 men, mostly volunteers, captured a small post and threatened Malden. Soon he learned that the British and Indians had captured Fort Mackinaw, and hearing that the British General, Brock, was approaching, had a slight skirmish with his advance guard and retreated to Detroit in August. On the 16th he basely surrendered without a struggle. Harrison was now appointed to retrieve our fortunes in this section and the task proved a difficult one. It was hard to get an army together, supplies were scarce, transportation slow and unsatisfactory, so that winter came on before any move could be made.

In the meantime General Dearborn undertook the Eastern campaign with no better success. Gen. Van Rensselaer assembled an army principally of volunteer militia on the Niagara River, crossed over and would have had brilliant success if most of the militia had not refused

to coöperate. Captain John Wool and Lieutenant-Colonel Winfield Scott, destined to later fame, fought valiantly but in vain, though General Brock, conqueror of Detroit, fell mortally wounded. The expedition completely failed, Van Rensselaer resigned, and General Smyth, who succeeded him, made a more disgraceful failure, though he was much better equipped. Dearborn, at Lake Champlain, did practically nothing at all except to repulse a small British attack wherein one Jacob Brown, a recent Quaker farmer, showed those qualities which later made him the chief hero of the war. Certainly this was a record of failure most discouraging. The only offset was the sudden and unexpected glory achieved by our little navy.

Four complete victories not only fired American hearts, stimulated them to renewed efforts on land, but struck terror and amazement to British hearts for their navy had been considered well-nigh irresistible. These four naval duels were as follows:

The American frigate Constitution, forty-four guns, Captain Isaac Hull, on August 19th met the British frigate Guerriere, thirty-eight guns, off the Gulf of St. Lawrence. They were almost evenly matched, though the Constitution was the stronger vessel and threw a little heavier broadside, but the contest was decided by the superior gunnery of the American tars in a very brief time. The Guerriere was forced to strike her colors—the first time a British frigate had surrendered to a single frigate in many years.

On October 18th Captain Jacob Jones was cruising in the sloop-of-war Wasp, eighteen guns, in Southern waters, when he fell in with the British sloop Frolic, twenty guns, convoying merchantmen. Again superior marksmanship decided the contest, and the

Frolic, reduced almost to a complete wreck, struck her colors. Both vessels were shortly afterward recaptured by a British frigate, but this did not dim the glory of the achievement.

On October 25th Captain Decatur, in the frigate United States, forty-four guns, fell in with the British frigate Macedonian, off the Madeiras, and captured her after a two hours' fight. Again the odds were slightly in favor of the American ship, but they were small.

The last sea fight of the year was between the Constitution and the British frigate Java, thirty-eight guns, off the coast of Brazil. The ships were nearly equal, the Constitution, now being commanded by Captain Bainbridge. The contest was soon decided overwhelmingly in our favor. Indeed, in all these contests it was apparent that our captains were better seamen, the tars more alert, while our gunners were far superior. If, as should have been, our operations on land had been equally successful, the war would probably have come to an end at once with a good understanding all around, for neither the British Ministry nor the British people liked the war. It added terribly to the national expense, deprived them of a source of provisions, and presently a horde of American privateers went forth and almost ruined British commerce. American privateers were daredevils in those days, and often paid dearly for their risks; yet in the war they captured some 2,700 British mechantmen, sometimes in sight of the coast of England, infested the Irish Channel, put up marine insurance to prohibitive rates, produced famine prices for grain, and brought about unnecessary distress. And for what? Well, Great Britain's original idea in her policy was that she was using us to crush Napoleon, and now here she was at war with us, while Napoleon laughed in his

sleeve. If, after the repeal of the Orders in Council, the British Government had given assurance that impressment would be discontinued, peace might have been made, but the Ministry evidently felt that they had gone far enough, and the war proceeded on the main question of sailors' rights. And it was our sailors who first demonstrated that American seamen must be free. After their victories in this war no treaty was necessary to assure them their rights. The greatest hardship was that impressed American tars were now compelled to fight their own countrymen, and when they refused were placed in dungeons, where many of them died.

The war was no sooner begun than Napoleon undertook his long-cherished plan of bringing Russia to book. Russia, it seems, would not agree to Napoleon's demands in the way of neutral trade, and was far from being humble or submissive. Having reduced most of the rest of the Continent to abject submission, Napoleon marked the Czar for his next victim. Then ensued the disastrous Moscow campaign, which broke the Napoleonic spell and marked the beginning of his ruin. Great Britain and Russia were now allied against Napoleon, and it seemed strange to the Czar that the American war should continue over abstract questions which would settle themselves if Napoleon were out of the way. Our Minister at St. Petersburg was John Quincy Adams, son of the second President, with whom the Czar had repeated conferences, and Adams impressed upon him the true situation. Accordingly, the Czar officially proposed to Great Britain to mediate on all questions involved in the American war. This offer was embarrassing to the British Ministry. The American war was a burden, but it could not be given up at this stage, because pride forbade. And so the

Czar's offer was refused, but not until this country had accepted it and commissioners were sent to represent our side of the controversy. Madison sent Gallatin and James A. Bayard, of Delaware, to join Adams, but by the time they arrived Great Britain had declined the offer of the Czar, and the war went on.

To raise an army was easy enough on paper, but difficult in fact. Bonds sold slowly, heavy war taxes were laid, and every effort put forth to instill life into the army without a great deal of success.

The military campaign of 1813 was opened by Harrison in the West. A portion of his troops were surprised in January at the River Raisin by a British and Indian force, and utterly defeated. Surrendering the remnant, the British Commander allowed his red-skinned allies to wreak their fury on the captives, and a terrible slaughter of innocents followed. This fresh disaster brought gloom to the country, but a desire for revenge as well, so that "Remember the River Raisin" was long a battle-cry. It was now midwinter, and Harrison could not bring up reinforcements, so that operations in this quarter were suspended for some time.

The war in the East promised little more. Dearborn captured York (now Toronto) and a few towns in Ontario of no strategic importance, which he was obliged to abandon. The British made an attack on Sackett's Harbor which was bravely repulsed by Brown, who had few resources at his command. Dearborn, who was aged and incompetent, now retired, and General Wilkinson, who had been implicated in the Burr plot, was brought from Louisiana to command. He prepared for an attack on Montreal, but with little vigor. General Armstrong, who had now become Secretary of War, came to the front and took personal charge. An

invasion by two armies was planned, and then the Secretary went home, leaving a bad state of feeling behind. The army was fairly well equipped, the effort was made in a feeble way, but absolutely nothing came of it, and the Eastern army went into winter quarters. Another year of failure on land.

Again it was the navy that brought all the honors of the year. The control of the Great Lakes being of the highest importance, efforts were put forth on both sides to produce a fleet which had to be built of green timber. In an incredibly short time a small fleet was constructed at Erie, for which the cannon and rigging had laboriously been dragged overland. In command of Captain Oliver H. Perry this fleet with difficulty got afloat, largely manned by landsmen, and set forth to dispute possession with Captain Barclay, a veteran British officer who had a flotilla at the other end of the lake. Battle was joined September 10th. The British were superior in guns, particularly those available at long range. The American fleet was largest, but part of the vessels stayed out of the fight until it was nearly over. Barclay brought his heavy guns to bear on the Lawrence, and soon disabled her. Perry transferred his flag from the Lawrence and began the fight once more, which ended in complete victory, after heavy losses on both sides. This fight took place off the present city of Sandusky, near which lay Harrison with his army. To him Perry sent the now memorable dispatch: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours." This hard-fought battle, in which Barclay lost his life, greatly added to the renown of our navy, and revived the drooping spirits of Americans who were disgusted with the army.

But now came one military victory to the Nation's relief. Harrison had raised a considerable army, and

began to advance on the British under Proctor, near Detroit. The latter retreated to Canada, and Harrison followed. The British were assisted by Tecumseh with a large band of Indians. Coming up with this force on October 5, 1813, at the River Thames, Harrison delivered battle, overwhelmingly defeated the enemy, drove Proctor east in alarm, while Tecumseh was numbered among the slain.

For the first time there were military operations in the South, where the Creeks had been roused by Tecumseh and the "Prophet." They began the usual Indian atrocities, but this time the man of the hour was at hand. Andrew Jackson, who had already been prominent in the West, began a campaign which by March 27, 1814, absolutely broke the power of warlike savages after a series of conflicts terrible in their ferocity. The Indians had set the pace by murdering, August 30, 1813, over 400 men, women, and children at Fort Mims. After this there was little quarter given. Jackson returned from this campaign with substantial honors, soon to be greatly enhanced.

The navy again brought credit to the country, but the record of successes was broken. Indeed, nothing else could have been expected. The British had over 600 vessels in their navy, while the Americans started out with about twenty, but these were gradually taken or blockaded until, in spite of the new ones constructed, there were at the close of the war very few of them on the ocean—at times not a single frigate on the Atlantic.

On February 24th Capt. James Lawrence, of the Hornet, eighteen guns, fell in with the British brig Peacock, of about the same size and armament. The battle was short and decisive. In fifteen minutes the Peacock was shot to pieces, and soon sank. For this gallant action

Lawrence was placed in command of the Chesapeake, which was being refitted in Boston harbor. Outside the bar the British frigate Shannon, Captain Broke, was cruising, anxious to meet any comer. In a spirit of bravado Broke sent a challenge to Lawrence, which the latter unfortunately accepted. The Chesapeake was not a manageable ship, was not yet in good condition, and her hastily collected crew was not drilled for service. But Lawrence would not wait for anything. His impetuosity overruled his judgment. The action was short, sharp, and decisive. The Chesapeake was early crippled with the broadsides that injured her steering gear. Lawrence was mortally wounded, his last words being, "Don't give up the ship." Unfortunately the ship was already lost, and was carried to Halifax, where Lawrence was buried with the honors of war. It was now England's turn to rejoice, but it was her only opportunity during the war where the contending forces were about even.

The British sloop Pelican captured the American sloop Argus, August 13th, but on September 4th the British brig Boxer, with her flag nailed to the mast, was taken by the Enterprise. The vessels were of about equal size, carrying fourteen guns each. The last naval exploit of the war was the cruise of Captain Porter in the Essex, who sailed around Cape Horn and destroyed British commerce, particularly whaling vessels. After a remarkably successful cruise he refitted in some Pacific islands and sailed for Valparaiso and there, in a neutral port, he was attacked by a force twice the size of his own and defeated, March 28, 1814, but not without honor. In this cruise young midshipman Farragut first showed those qualities that made him so great a commander half a century later.

In the spring of 1814, when the war had continued nearly two years, nothing had been accomplished on land. Our victories on the ocean had been important, but at great cost, so that we had no longer an effective force at sea, because of the blockade of our ports. Though we had ravaged British commerce, our own had suffered, and business at home was demoralized. The Government finances were in bad condition, and the administration of the War Department was grossly inefficient. We held not a foot of foreign territory, except a little in the neighborhood of Detroit. Not only had we lost our opportunities, but Napoleon was now in Elba and the flower of Wellington's troops were sent to America, where resistance seemed likely to be feeble. Three expeditions were sent from England, one to Canada to march into New York, one to New Orleans to capture Louisiana, and one to the Chesapeake to attack Washington. There was gloom and despair everywhere, while New England was in open political revolt. When the State troops were desired some of the Governors in New England wanted to hold them for local defense. Insofar as they were not placed at the disposal of the War Department, they were not paid. Opposition to the administration and the war was so bold and open that a threat of secession was made. If, early in 1814, New England had taken this step, the consequences would have been incalculable. Instead of doing so, a self-constituted body met at Hartford in convention and deliberated on the state of the country. Not all the States were represented, and the delegates were not radical men. The convention never came to a definite policy. It tentatively offered a plan to Congress requiring the adoption of a number of amendments to the Constitution which, if adopted, would soon have reduced

the Nation to anarchy or political impotency. There was an implied threat of secession if the terms were not accepted, and the Convention adjourned to get the answer of Congress, but as peace came almost at the moment, the propositions were never acted on, the convention never recalled, and everyone connected with the movement was anxious to have the matter forgotten. There was treason meditated, but it never was undertaken, and the subsequent protests that none was contemplated showed an anxiety for justification unnecessary in those possessed of patriotic motives.

This was the critical and last year of the war. Strangely enough, when matters were at their worst they began to mend, sometimes in quarters least expected. The Central invasion was a temporary success only. Admiral Cockburn arrived in the Chesapeake, ravaged and burned defenseless towns early in the summer of 1814. In August, troops under General Ross were landed, and a march made overland to Washington. To repel this force General Winder collected a force of militia at Bladensburg, outside Washington. There were men enough, but absolutely no discipline, and the arrangements made so necessarily involved defeat that it was inevitable. On August 24th Ross brushed aside the force and marched triumphantly into Washington as the President and his Cabinet escaped across the Potomac. The Capitol, the President's house, the Treasury, and practically all the public buildings, were ruthlessly burned, together with bridges and property, altogether amounting to $2,000,000. Stopping only a day, Ross marched overland to Baltimore, where the citizens had determined on resistance. A gallant defense was made, the advance checked, and Ross was slain—a just punishment for his vandalism. The British

fleet sailed up and attacked Fort McHenry. An American citizen, Francis Scott Key, on board a British vessel, making certain negotiations, watched the bombardment all night, and in the morning beheld the flag of his country still waving over Fort McHenry. On the inspiration of this moment he wrote the National anthem, "The Star Spangled Banner," which was set to a well-known tune, and it has ever since been closest to the patriotic American heart. The fleet retired, and all the military invaders could boast of was the sacking of a capital in the spirit of the Middle Ages and a dead General.

This ended Armstrong's administration of the War Department. Monroe became Secretary of War, and still remained Secretary of State. Indeed, Monroe was not only the last hope of the administration, but was about all there was of it.

In the meantime, on the Canadian border had taken place the only scientific campaign of the war. In the changes that took place the redoubtable Quaker, Jacob Brown, became Commander on the Niagara frontier. His young brigadiers were Scott, Ripley, Gaines, Porter, and Miller, each with a small brigade, but the officers and men were trained and courageous. At the Chippewa Creek, on the Canadian side, a stubborn battle was fought July 5, 1814, in the open field, and the British defeated. At Lundy's Lane, near Niagara Falls, another stubborn fight took place July 25th, lasting until long after dark, and this was a moral and material victory, though Brown retreated to Fort Erie, opposite Buffalo, where in one of the most brilliant engagements of the war the British were driven back with great slaughter. The main hope of the British was a naval demonstration on Lake Champlain, to assist the invading army under General Prevost. The American army under Izard, and

the little flotilla under MacDonough, prepared to resist though largely overmatched. On September 11th the British fleet sailed down and attacked MacDonough, who was at first badly handled. He had taken the precaution to so dispose his anchored fleet that he could wear ship and turn the guns of the other sides of his vessels, which had not been in service, against the enemy. This foresight made his victory complete, and Prevost fled in haste back to Canada.

The last battle of the war took place after the treaty of peace had been signed. Jackson was placed in command in the South, where General Sir Henry Pakenham, one of the ablest British Generals, was expected with the flower of Wellington's volunteers. The expedition arrived late in 1814 and, coming to Lake Borgne, started overland to New Orleans. Jackson, who for some weeks had apparently failed to appreciate the situation, now hastily gathered his forces, being principally riflemen, and took a strong position between the Mississippi and a swamp. Pakenham's advance was delayed by our artillery and two small vessels, but on January 8, 1815, an assault was made on the American breastworks. Pakenham had some 10,000 men, while Jackson had about 6,000. The assault was bravely made in the face of a withering fire. It was a failure, and the casualities were proportionately among the greatest in modern warfare. Pakenham was killed, General Gibbs mortally wounded, General Keane badly wounded, and General Lambert alone of the British general officers remained unhurt, while 2,600 soldiers were killed, wounded, or captured. Jackson lost 8 men killed and 13 wounded. The victory was one of the most complete in history. Lambert retreated and soon learned that the war was over.

The end of the conflict was remarkable. When Great Britain, as narrated, refused the Czar's mediation, there was great disappointment in this country. Adams also was discouraged, but he broached the subject of an arbitration once more. Though in the midst of a campaign, the Czar made a second offer to Great Britain. This greatly embarrassed the British Ministry. They dared not offend the Czar, with whom they were engaged in crushing Napoleon, but they could not accept his offer. As a middle ground they agreed to negotiate with the United States direct, and accordingly commissioners met at Ghent to discuss the subject. To Adams, Gallatin, and Bayard were now joined Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell, of Connecticut. These were five of the ablest men in America, and for the purpose employed could not easily have been overmatched. The British Ministry apparently was not so much desirous of peace as of gaining time to get the new expeditions off safely to the United States. Accordingly, they sent three inferior men, Sir Henry Goulburn, Lord Gambier, and William Adams. The latter were soon overmatched. They made preposterous demands for territory, which put Great Britain in the position of waging a war of conquest. This was untenable, but after negotiations, lasting from August to late in December, wherein our own commissioners, though not altogether harmonious, completely outwitted their opponents, a treaty of peace was finally made which left matters practically as they were before the war on paper, but it was well understood that impressment should cease, while Napoleon's fall left our commerce free. Before this was done the Ministry in vain tried to get the Duke of Wellington to take command in America. The treaty was signed December 24, 1814, by which we gained an honorable peace. Our

victories on land and sea insured us respect at home and abroad. Theoretically the war seems to have been unnecessary and avoidable, but practically it gained for us that prestige that has made us ever since respected as a sovereign Nation. The war was worth all it cost, but it is likely that if the British had known into what political demoralization we had fallen, how long were our finances, and how weak our armies, we might not have come off so well.

Peace was received in Great Britain and the United States with the wildest enthusiasm. The Hartford convention proposition was buried, and Madison's administration suddenly achieved great reputation just as it seemed on the verge of collapse.

Congress began the work of recovery at once. A new National Bank was chartered for twenty years. Specie payments, which had been suspended, were restored. Credit revived, and business began to pick up. Commerce again flourished, and the Nation got on its financial feet once more. The National debt was now $127,000,000, and it was all paid in twenty years. The city of Washington was rebuilt, and the Nation took on a new lease of life. Naturally, Monroe was elected President. He had borne the brunt at a time when all seemed lost. He received 183 electoral votes to 34 for Rufus King, of New York. Governor D. D. Tompkins, of New York, was chosen Vice-President against 34 scattering votes. Louisiana had been admitted as a State in 1812.

The two administrations of James Monroe closed the "reign of the Virginians." Of the first twenty-eight years of our Constitutional history Virginians served in the Presidency for twenty-four. Monroe was the last of the Constitutional fathers, the last of the old style Re-

publican Presidents, and after him a new direction was given to American politics by statesmen of the newer school. Monroe's career had been varied and not entirely successful until he entered Madison's Cabinet, and he was by no means the unanimous choice of his party for the nomination. The Congressional caucus which then made nominations showed a large faction in favor of William H. Crawford, of Georgia, a man of little culture, great abilities, but of narrow mind and selfish disposition. He entered Monroe's Cabinet with the determination to succeed him, not by hearty coöperation, but by building up a personal following in opposition to the administration. Monroe had some difficulty in arranging his Cabinet, but as finally confirmed, it consisted of: John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War; Smith Thompson, of New York, Secretary of the Navy, and William Wirt, of Virginia, Attorney-General. Clay, who wanted the Premiership, refused the War Department, as did Jackson.

Monroe's two terms have commonly been called the "era of good feeling," largely because the President was able to compose differences so far as they affected his administration, and because there was practically no party opposition. During his term, however, events took place which shaped the future and brought about new party organizations. The country had, during the Embargo and the war, made such strides toward independence of Europe in manufacturing, that by general consent, when the heavy war taxes were rearranged, the direct and internal taxes were abolished, and the customs duties regulated so as to give protection to our own industries. Large plans of internal improvements were laid, but Madison and Monroe were opposed to them on

constitutional grounds, and they failed. The National turnpike, known as the Cumberland Road, which gave easy access to the growing West, was started in 1807 by Congress and completed to Wheeling, and it was expected to continue it to Lake Michigan and the Mississippi; but even this failed, and the road was eventually turned over to the States through which it ran.

At first revenue was plenty, and the National debt was reduced. But an unwise policy of business expansion, poor banking facilities, and finally the loose and almost disastrous conduct of the new National Bank, brought about a panic, from which the country did not emerge for some time. The bank directory was reorganized, and soon was on a firmer basis than ever. Clay was an ardent protectionist, a believer in National improvements, a friend of the bank, and ambitious of the Presidency. The ambitions of Clay and Crawford clashed, and neither liked Adams, who soon became the forceful man of the Cabinet. There were several important features of Monroe's administration that deserve especial attention. These were:

1. The Seminole War and the acquisition of Florida.
2. The territorial compromise on slavery.
3. The Monroe doctrine of our hegemony in this hemisphere.
4. The tariff of 1824.

The Seminole War arose along the Florida border, where it was easy for the Indians in Spanish territory to ravage the American border and escape. West Florida (all west of the Perdido) we held by power if not by right. Jackson, who commanded the army in the South, was so tired of Indian outrages and so regardless of international law, that he proposed seizing East Florida (the present State) without consulting Spain. Pursuing

Indians into Florida in 1818, he seized two British subjects, whom he hanged as spies, and drove out the Spanish garrison. This the administration had to disavow, though Adams was disposed to uphold Jackson, while Calhoun opposed him—an act that had great effect on his political future. Jackson's conduct, however, was immensely popular, and this was increased subsequently by a treaty with Spain, by which in 1819 we secured Florida on the payment of $5,000,000 of claims by our citizens against Spain. Unfortunately King Ferdinand long delayed ratifying this treaty, and we were about to seize it forcibly when the ratification was effected in 1821. By this treaty our Southwestern border was fixed at the Sabine, the present western boundary of Louisiana. Between this river and the Rio Grande lay the territory known as Texas, to which we might have laid claim, certainly to half of it with good reason; but Monroe had noted the rising conflict between slave and free States and chose to cut off Texas, which would have afforded room for slavery extension. This aroused opposition in the South, and soon began the movement for the "reannexation of Texas," which was accomplished some twenty-five years later.

This dispute over slave territory entered into every addition to the Union. Up to this time the balance had been preserved by a slave and free State coming in almost simultaneously. The crisis was precipitated by the application of Missouri for admission with slavery, and here the free State men made their first stand. The first application in 1819 failed, but the next year, after heated debates, which lasted long, a compromise was effected by which Missouri was to be admitted with slavery, while thereafter slavery should be prohibited north of 36 deg. 30 min., the southern boundary of the

State. Maine, which had hitherto been a portion of Massachusetts, was admitted also, and the balance was preserved. This Missouri compromise was accepted by all as a final settlement of the question of the territorial limits of slavery, and for thirty years it was not disturbed nor seriously questioned.

Our foreign concern had now taken a new direction. The Spanish States in North, Central, and South America finally revolted against the cruelty and maladministration of the home Government. It took years to accomplish all this, but by 1821 Spanish control on the Western mainland had vanished, and republics were set up, Brazil still remaining a Portuguese dependency. All these events were of the gravest import to our country. Our people generally sympathized with the patriots who won independence, and chimerical schemes of a great federated republic of the Western Hemisphere were proposed. Monroe, during the revolutions, took the lead in granting belligerent rights, which step was of great value. King Ferdinand viewed these losses with alarm, but as Spain was reduced almost to impotency, he was unable alone to reconquer them. To get them back he implored the aid of the "Holy Alliance," which had been organized in 1815 by the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia in the general interests of legitimacy to prevent another Napoleon gaining power, and to put down all revolts of the people against those "whom God has rendered responsible for power." Ferdinand considered that his case came under the protection of the "Holy Alliance" all the more because a recent revolution in Spain had imposed on him a constitutional form of Government that restricted his authority in a way most exasperating to the "Lord's Anointed." Ferdinand was rescued by a French army, which once

more overran poor, devastated Spain, suppressed popular government, and restored to Ferdinand his "rights."

The situation was now a delicate one. Great Britain had no love for the "Holy Alliance." Her war against Napoleon had not been so much to restore the Bourbons as to crush the despotism of a man who sought to dominate Europe. The British Ministry now showed a friendliness to the United States never before expressed. Great Britain wanted peace and feared another Continental war. Her tone of studied indifference to our concerns gave way to an earnest friendliness that was as pleasing as it was surprising to our Ambassador, Richard Rush. It was not long before Rush discovered that if Monroe took a strong position in reference to South American affairs he would receive the moral support of Great Britain. This may or may not have influenced Monroe, but certain it is that, in his annual message of 1823, Monroe covered the whole ground of our position briefly yet forcibly. His position was this: The United States will not interfere with any existing European governments in the Western Hemisphere, but it will not permit any interference with the existing Republics nor any further European colonization in America whatever. This firm expression, known as the Monroe Doctrine, has ever since been successfully asserted. It has often been stretched to mean more than was applicable to the then existing situation, but in general the doctrine of America for the Americans with the United States, as leader and champion of the whole, has become a fixed tenet in our political philosophy. The "Holy Alliance" took the hint, and it was forty years before any Nation in Europe undertook to defy the Monroe Doctrine, at a time when we were in the throes of Civil War.

The tariff bill of 1824 was the beginning of the policy

which finally produced the Whig party. Clay led in favor of higher protection than we had even attempted in times of peace, while Webster appeared in opposition. The measure was passed by a narrow margin, and became a rallying point in politics.

Monroe's reëlection in 1820 had been unanimous, except that a single elector threw his vote away simply to prevent unanimity, while a mere handful of votes was cast against Tompkins. No such unanimity prevailed in 1824, for there were five avowed candidates—Crawford, the Congressional caucus nominee, and Adams, Jackson, Clay, and Calhoun. The latter soon retired, and became Vice-President almost without opposition. Among the other four the contest was bitter. Adams was by all means the best fitted for the position, and was in direct line of succession. Clay had staked his chances on protection, but found that his rivals were equally in favor of it. Crawford was one of the shrewdest politicians of his age, and the original "machine" man in National politics. He secured the act by which the principal Federal offices were to be held by incumbents for four years only, and soon found places for his friends. The entry of Jackson into the contest was at first considered a joke. He was a man of little education, no culture, a sort of swashbuckler soldier, whose erratic career had made conservative men shake their heads, and his rivals did not fear him. But Jackson, freed from close intimacy with the broils of office-holding politics, developed a popularity that surprised every one. He was courageous, direct, a hater of shams, and a soldier who had never been conquered. His contempt for constitutional niceties hurt him none. His hold on the popular heart was only partly demonstrated by election figures, but it showed him the favorite. Most of the electors were now

chosen by the people, and as a result of the four-cornered contest no one was chosen President, though Calhoun won easily for second place.

The popular vote, so far as it was cast, stood: Jackson, 155,872; Adams, 105,321; Crawford, 44,282; Clay, 46,587.

The electoral vote was: Jackson, 99; Adams, 84; Crawford, 41, and Clay, 37. The House of Representatives was called on to choose one of the first three. Clay, who was now ineligible, cast his influence for Adams, who was elected. The charge that a corrupt bargain was made between Adams and Clay is no longer believed, but it was so believed for many years and greatly injured Adams. In the House, Adams received the votes of 13 States, Jackson 7 and Crawford 4.

John Quincy Adams was the first minority President and this fact, together with the allegations of a corrupt bargain with Clay, greatly injured his administration. The fact that Clay was made Secretary of State seemed to confirm the bargain story. Now Adams was a man who did what he thought right regardless of public clamor. Although he had long ago joined the Republican party, there were traces of Federalism in his political views. He completed the Cabinet as follows: Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; James Barbour, of Virginia, Secretary of War; retaining Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey, as Secretary of the Navy, and Wirt as Attorney-General.

Adams had his struggles with the patronage but steadily adhered to the Jeffersonian policy of reappointing faithful men in spite of their factional views, and this cost him many friends while his appointees often worked against him. A brilliant event of this administration was the opening of the Erie Canal, built by the State of New

York under the inspiration of DeWitt Clinton, to connect Lake Erie with the Hudson. The event was celebrated with great ceremony October 26, 1825. This canal made New York the great seaport of the Nation and the city grew rapidly as a commercial center. Over the canal passed emigrants and goods for the West, and back came grain to New York for Europe. The canal has ever remained in control of the State. In the last years of the Nineteenth Century, New York undertook an enlargement of the canal, as yet (1899) uncompleted, though a great scandal was alleged in connection with the work. The success of this canal made other States anxious for canals, as it was difficult without them to compete for Western traffic. Maryland and Pennsylvania established systems that went over the mountains, but eventually the railroads drove them practically out of business. In the West, Ohio and Illinois undertook extravagant systems, never fully completed, but the States incurred great debts, and extravagance in this respect was one of the causes of the panic of 1837.

One point of Adams' policy was the establishment of closer relations with the South American Republics, for whom there was great sympathy expressed. A Pan-American Congress was called to meet at Panama in 1826. After some debate Congress provided for this country being represented, but the Congress was a failure and accomplished nothing. The Spanish-American Republics were not stable, and there were so many ambitious men that the frequency of revolution, still noteworthy, has ever retarded their development.

The Southern Indians now gave trouble, especially in Georgia, where their lands were wanted by white men. Georgia became defiant, asserting rights the administration could not admit. The matter was finally settled by

sending them all to the Indian Territory, where they have since lived in comparative peace. In 1827 Gallatin, who had some time since returned from the French Mission, was sent to Great Britain and made a new treaty, which covered many of the points left open since the war, though he could not get her consent to our direct trade with the British possessions in the West Indies. Other questions were left open for future settlement, particularly those referring to disputed boundary lines.

Adams was one of the purest and ablest of our statesmen, but, like his father, he lacked tact, was headstrong and often suspicious. He soon found Congress opposed to him, largely because of the strife for the succession, which began at once, with Jackson still the leading candidate. The tariff act of 1828, sometimes styled "the tariff of abominations," was the leading measure of his administration. It greatly increased protective duties, against which the Southern planters now rose in protest. The slavery question was mixed with it and the feeling became bitter, but the division on the subject was not on administration lines, for Congress was against Adams. The bill passed by fair majorities and became a law.

Three personal events of this time are of interest. In 1824 Lafayette arrived and made a tour of the country being received with the wildest enthusiasm, while Congress gave him $200,000 and a large grant of land for his Revolutionary services. He was present at the laying of the cornerstone of Bunker Hill monument, fifty years after the day of battle, when Webster delivered his famous oration. On July 4, 1826, fifty years after the passage of the Declaration of Independence, died John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, so long political foes, but recently reconciled. On April 8, 1826, a bloodless duel was fought by John Randolph and Henry Clay, growing out of the

former's comments on the alleged bargain of the latter with Adams.*

The election in 1828 was never in doubt. In spite of past services and a good administration, Adams could not command the confidence of the people. Jackson swept the country, receiving 178 votes to 83 for Adams, Calhoun again being elected Vice-President. The popular vote showed a more even division. So far as taken it was: Jackson, 647,231; Adams, 509,097.

Andrew Jackson was the first of our Presidents without long experience in civil affairs. He had served in Congress, had been active in politics, and his military career involved more or less administration. Still, he was not a tried man, as his predecessors had been. New England people now were in a worse frame of mind than when Jefferson was elected, for they believed him incapable of administration—a fear shared by many of the wealthy and educated persons of the country. Politics, which had been confused during the administration of Adams, now took definite shape, and the Democratic party was founded on the Jacksonian policy. Jackson chose for his Cabinet: Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State; Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, Secretary of War; John Branch, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy, and John M. Berrien of Georgia, Attorney-General. Few of these men were well known, though all were substantial, and Van Buren had a considerable reputation. William T. Barry, of Kentucky, was appointed Postmaster-General and made a Cabinet minister—a policy which has since been followed. Jackson was no civil service theorist. He believed his friends should have the offices, and they got them. Wholesale discharges were made to furnish places for his

*See Volume "American Statesmen."

friends, whereat the country was amazed; but the policy continued without restriction for some sixty years. Randolph was sent to Russia, but soon retired, and James Buchanan took his place.

The country was in a prosperous condition, the debt had been reduced by Adams to $58,000,000, and there were no serious foreign complications. The administration started off smoothly, and it soon appeared that Jackson did not lack that confidence in himself that others felt for him. He became a party ruler, not in the way of Jefferson, using tact, but by using all the power of his position. He ruled with a rod of iron, and those who opposed him soon felt his displeasure. He opposed internal improvements, was non-committal on the tariff, and at first showed little hostility to the National Bank recharter, which was being forced as an issue before it was necessary. Afterward his hostility to the institution became extreme, and his fight against it was a leading feature of his two administrations.

An important event of this administration was the great debate on the Constitution between Webster, now a Senator, and Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, the successor in the Senate, of Calhoun. The feeling over slavery and the tariff was now becoming bitter. Southern men were angry over the tariff of 1828, claiming that they were taxed without any benefit to enrich the manufacturers of the North. Moreover, they felt keenly the restriction on slavery, the loss of Texas, and the anti-slavery crusade that was being waged on moral grounds. They foresaw that the growing West must furnish free States beyond the possibility of being counterbalanced by slave States, and feared the time when the free States would outnumber them and destroy the "peculiar institution" of the South. Calhoun, who had been a tariff man in 1816,

now veered over to the free trade wing, was planning for the political balance of power in the South and providing a remedy against Northern oppression. Protection was the issue on which Calhoun and his party made the issue, holding as a club the theory of Nullification, which was that the Constitution being a mere compact, any State could nullify any law it deemed unconstitutional, and if the act complained of were enforced, could withdraw from the compact and reassume sovereignty. Hayne was his mouthpiece in the Senate, and his views were soon set forth. Senator Foote, of Connecticut, had offered a resolution suggesting the limitation of the sales of public land on the ground that the West was getting too much benefit from them at the expense of the East, "the original proprietors." Calhoun, who aspired to succeed Jackson, saw in this situation a possibility of joining the South and West against this selfish Eastern policy, and thus controlling the election. Hayne made a bitter attack on New England in January, 1830, to which Webster replied with great spirit. Hayne returned to the attack with greater bitterness, and denounced New England for the Hartford Convention and the general policy in the recent war. It was a brilliant speech, which alarmed the Eastern men, who looked to Webster for a reply. They were not disappointed, for on the next day, January 26, Webster delivered his speech on the Union, which remains one of the American classics, considered purely as an oratorical effort, while its broad views and lofty pratriotism, more than all other speeches ever made, painted the Union and the Constitution as they were and as they should be. It has ever since been regarded as the noblest presentation of the subject; its precepts have never been forgotten, but have been a tower of strength in days of national peril. Refusing to answer in the narrow, sectional, and vindic-

tive spirit of Hayne, Webster launched forth into praise of South Carolina and her valiant soldiers and statesmen, swept aside petty malice, painted in glowing colors the valor of the sons of New England without apologizing for her shortcomings. He pointed out the inconsistency in Hayne's denunciation of the Hartford Convention, an irregular body, while upholding the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, which went still farther in opposition to the Government. Then in a peroration of matchless beauty, never exceeded in eloquent grandeur, he painted the Union under the Constitution, its glories, blessings, and possibilities in words that still ring in American hearts. This speech stopped the coalition, gave a backset to Nullification, but did not prevent Calhoun from continuing his campaign. An attempt to draw Jackson out on the subject was disastrous, for his sentiment was: "Our Federal Union, it must be preserved." Thereafter the Nullifier had to count without Jackson, but this propaganda continued.

Jackson's first difficulty came from society and not from politics. His Secretary of War, Major Eaton, had married the widow of a naval officer who committed suicide. This wife had been Peggy O'Neil, daughter of a Washington tavern keeper, who, rightly or wrongly, was not held to be a paragon of virtue. When Eaton married her, gossip was freely indulged in, which soon resulted in more serious action. The wives of the other Cabinet Ministers and officials absolutely refused to socially recognize Mrs. Eaton. This aroused Jackson's wrath, who was chivalrous if not tactful. Van Buren was a widower and willingly recognized Mrs. Eaton in every way possible, but Jackson used threats in vain to compel the women to do so. He finally scored the only failure of his life. He could rule politics, but not society. The Cabinet broke

up. Van Buren was sent as Minister to England, and Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, became Secretary of State; Louis McLane, of Delaware, Secretary of the Treasury; General Lewis Cass, of Michigan, succeeded Eaton as Secretary of War; Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, became Secretary of the Navy, and Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, Attorney-General. These changes were not completed until 1831. In the meantime the Cabinet was hardly to be called an advisory body to the President, owing to the friction existing. Instead, Jackson leaned for advice and used for direction very largely a "kitchen cabinet," of which Amos Kendall and Frank P. Blair were the chief members.

It was unfortunate for Calhoun that while he was aiming to get into Jackson's good graces, the latter discovered that it was Calhoun who had opposed him in the Florida matter while in Monroe's Cabinet. Thereafter Calhoun was a marked man. Blair established "The Globe" in Jackson's interest, with Government patronage, and thereafter it was only necessary to read the newspaper to learn the President's policy.

The first term of Jackson was highly successful. British West India ports were reopened to our commerce, and we secured pay from France for the spoliations on our commerce under Napoleon's decrees, leaving no important foreign dispute unsettled. This greatly enhanced Jackson's popularity and made it easy for him to stand for a second term, which, apparently, he had not at first intended. When Congress met, December, 1831, in the middle of Jackson's term, the time had come for the organization of an opposition to Jackson's reëlection, and the legislation gave the trend to political parties in the future. Opposed to Jackson was no organized party, but around Henry Clay was now developed a band of men committed

to his views who were the nucleus of what was later termed the Whig party. Clay was back in the Senate, an avowed candidate for the Presidency. His policy included a new tariff law and recharter of the National Bank. This was a remarkable Congress. In the Senate were Clay, Webster, William L. Marcy, George M. Dallas, John M. Clayton, William R. King, John Tyler, John Forsyth, George Poindexter, Hugh L. White, Thomas Benton, and Thomas Ewing, long prominent in public affairs. In the House appeared John Quincy Adams, who was continuously elected until his death, nearly twenty years later. The Speaker was Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, and the membership included Rufus Choate, Edward Everett, John Davis, George McDuffie, John Y. Mason, John Adair, Richard M. Johnson, Thomas Corwin, John Bell, and James K. Polk—all men whose names are closely connected with our history.

Clay, who was nominated for the Presidency by the National Republicans, which was the ghost of the organization which supported Adams for a second term, now took charge of legislation in his own interest. The bank's charter did not expire for some years; it was highly prosperous and was an engine in commerce that seemed indispensable. If it had not been prematurely forced as a party issue it might have survived, but Clay forced it to help himself and injure Jackson. The issue was made and was boldly met. The opposition charged that the bank had used money in politics. Graver charges were brought against Nicholas Biddle, of Philadelphia, the president of the institution. Congressional investigation resulted in the House committee advising against recharter, but Clay had his forces well in hand, and the measure carried by good majorities.

The new tariff bill was pushed through by Clay at the

same time. This bill changed the act of 1828 in many particulars. It lowered many rates to please the South, and increased others, principally to stimulate our textile industries. Calhoun's friends fought hard, going over the whole subject once more, declaring the system unconstitutional, and throwing out hints of what might be expected should the measure pass. These threats failed, for the bill passed by very large majorities.

These two bills formed Clay's platform, and Jackson met them as such. He signed the tariff bill and vetoed the bank recharter. Thus the issue of the elections was made. Clay's protection policy was stolen by Jackson, while bank recharter was made the chief point of contest. And now Jackson's splendid party leadership was manifested. He used his power with discretion, but unsparingly. His kitchen cabinet easily played on the feelings of the masses with elaborate arguments of more or less merit. Jackson had disavowed Calhoun and chose for a running mate Van Buren, whose nomination to the British Mission, Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, out of petty spite, had recently defeated in the Senate. This roused Jackson, who never forgot a friend nor forgave an enemy. Clay's running mate was John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, an eminent member of the Philadelphia bar and long in public life. The first of the one-idea parties arose at this time, out of the reported murder of William Morgan by Masons. This party opposed not only the Masons, but all secret societies. This anti-Masonic party had developed strength in some local State elections, and in 1832 nominated William Wirt for President, with Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, for second place. The campaign was exciting, but the result was an overwhelming victory for Jackson, who received 219 electoral votes to 49 for Clay and 7 for Wirt, while South Carolina threw away her

eleven votes on John Floyd, of Virginia. The popular vote stood: Jackson, 687,502; Clay, 530,189; Wirt, 33,108. Here again it was seen that Jackson's electoral vote was out of all proportion to his personal following.

The first result of this election was the determination of South Carolina to threaten to secede from the Union. A convention was held November 24, 1832, which declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void, but put off the day of resistance to their enforcement until the following February 1, while the Governor was empowered to call out the militia if necessary. If the Federal Government attempted to execute the tariff acts by force, the Federal compact was declared dissolved. This was the defiant reply of South Carolina to the Nation which had refused to listen to her political philosophy or be moved by her threats. It bid defiance to Jackson as if it were David facing Goliath. Now the last thing in the world that moved Jackson was fear, and to defy him was to court danger. Jackson replied in a vigorous proclamation denying the South Carolina theories, giving assurance that her fears were groundless, but demanding obedience to the Constitution and the laws. Moreover, he got the army under Scott ready for instant action, sent a war vessel to Charleston, and was currently reported to have threatened to hang Calhoun as high as Haman if he resisted the laws. This vigorous action had the effect of rousing the public to the President's support, but South Carolina was not yet ready for repentance.

When Congress met in December, 1832, there was still doubt as to whether South Carolina would maintain her position or not. Calhoun had resigned the Vice-Presidency, and Hayne, who had become Governor, appointed him (Calhoun) as his own successor. The President asked Congress to pass a "force bill," which should enable

him to fully cope with the emergency. South Carolina now postponed the day of resistance and waited to see what Congress would do. Clay, who had been conspicuous in the Missouri Compromise of 1820, now came forward as a harmonizer. Defeat had chastened him, and for the sake of peace he agreed to a plan whereby the tariff of 1832 should be gradually reduced for a few years and then reduced rapidly until by 1841 the average duties should be about 20 per cent. Privately, however, the understanding was that Calhoun must vote for this bill and South Carolina should give up her recent ordinance and obey the laws. The manufacturers were naturally grieved that Clay should thus desert them, and it cost Clay much in the future. He acted as he believed for the general good, but perhaps it would have cost less to test the theory of secession in 1833, than in 1861, for Jackson was certainly able to cope with the issue. Calhoun accepted the compromise and voted for the bill. His friends said he was no believer in forcible resistance in any event. Thus the matter was settled and the bill became a law.

In 1832 the Sac and Fox Indians, under the leadership of Black Hawk, refused to abide by their treaty, and invaded Wisconsin. They were speedily put down and Black Hawk captured.

Had Andrew Jackson retired from public life at the end of his first term he must have carried with him a reputation almost unassailable. He did, indeed, finally retire with a reputation, enviable in spite of the defects of his administration, but his fight against the Bank, which occupied most of his second term, lessened his popularity, and his violent method of attack certainly injured business for the time being. Had not the Bank issue been forced on him by his political enemies for their own expected profit, Jackson might not have been so bitter. His first veto of

the recharter was not necessarily fatal, as the charter ran for four years more. If the Bank's friends had been more discreet and less partisan, the institution might have been saved. Livingston resigned the Secretaryship of State and was succeeded by McLane of the Treasury, who was succeeded by William J. Duane, of Pennsylvania. In September, 1833, after taking advice of his kitchen cabinet and refusing that of his regular advisers, Jackson ordered Duane to stop deposits in the National Bank and place them in State banks. Duane refused and was dismissed. Taney was made Secretary of the Treasury and carried out Jackson's orders. In the coming months drafts were made on the deposits in the National Bank, so that Government deposits melted rapidly. This greatly hampered the Bank, but did not close its doors, as many of Jackson's friends expected.

When Congress met, it was found that the House favored the administration, while the Senate, under the leadership of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun was opposed to it. The fight for recharter was led by Clay, but it failed. The Senate did, however, pass a resolution censuring Jackson for his action in removing the deposits. This irritated Jackson, and Senator Benton, his chief spokesman in the Senate, began a fight which did not end until the resolution was expunged from the record in 1837.

The fight now became intensely bitter. Clay once more led the opposition and was particularly angry because Jackson had "pocket vetoed" his bill to distribute a large surplus derived from land sales among the States. The bill was passed near the end of the previous session, and the necessary ten days were not left for Jackson to act on it. He did not act, and the bill failed. This was the first, but not the last, time such action was taken. The Bank made a desperate fight for existence, and used its

funds freely. This gave rise to stories of corruption of public men. Investigations were made which resulted according to the motives of the investigators, but recharter failed absolutely. Later the Bank got a Pennsylvania charter and finally failed. This fight caused the most intense excitement, particularly among business men, who believed that Jackson was actuated by improper motives. The masses, however, sided with Jackson in believing the Bank unnecessary, impolitic and positively dangerous because of its power to debauch politics.

By January 1, 1835, the entire national debt was paid off, largely owing to the heavy sales of public lands.

New combinations now appear in politics. The followers of Jackson became the Democratic party. His opponents, led by Clay, became known as Whigs and included many who had formerly followed Jackson. Clay, however, was not the candidate of the Whigs, but General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, the hero of Tippecanoe, was selected as chief standard bearer, with F. E. Granger, of New York, for second place. This was not unanimous, however, as each State did as seemed best in its own eyes. Jackson succeeded in having Van Buren, whom the Senate had rejected as United States Minister to Great Britain, nominated for President, with Richard M. Johnson, the alleged slayer of Tecumseh, for running mate. These nominations were made in 1835, though elections did not take place until the next year.

Under this administration began the rising tide of abolition. The anti-slavery men on principle were many in the North, but there were few who believed in abolition. In politics all they aimed at was maintaining the Missouri Compromise. The moral issue, however, grew apace. In the East William Lloyd Garrison, publisher of the "Liberator," led the fight in violent attacks on slavery. Garri-

son was well nigh anarchistic in his policy, and his followers, though few, were faithful to his tenets and long refused to vote because the Constitution recognized slavery. In the West the champion of abolition was James G. Birney, a peaceful agitator. He also conducted a newspaper, and was twice a candidate for the Presidency. There was friction between his followers and those of Garrison, who were violent in the extreme. Garrison was mobbed in the streets of Boston by some of the best men of the city, who deplored agitation of the subject. Later these same men were anti-slavery leaders.

In Congress the spread of the moral opposition to slavery was noted in the petitions sent in favoring abolition. These the House, in defiance of the Constitution, refused to receive. In defending for years the right of petition on any subject against the angry assaults of those who favored the gag law John Quincy Adams achieved his greatest fame. For years he fought alone, but he was immovable. His position was that the petitions must be received, and he used all the power of his terrible invective against those who opposed him. For years he stood like a rock in the storm and finally triumphed. On the other hand the plan to reannex Texas was now taking root. Sam Houston, who had fled from Tennessee to Texas for reasons unknown, became the leader of those who favored the plan. Texas declared her independence and gained it by the battle of San Jacinto in 1836, in which Houston defeated the Mexicans under General Santa Anna. Annexation was not yet ripe, and Jackson wisely deferred the matter until a more convenient season.

The election of 1836 resulted in the triumphant victory of Van Buren and Johnson. The Whig vote was not concentrated on Harrison, and the lack of leadership was painfully noted, while Jackson marshaled his forces in

military style to the last. And so it was said that Van Buren, who gained Jackson's friendship by championing Peggy O'Neil Eaton, got the Presidency as a reward. The electoral vote stood: Van Buren, 170; Harrison, 73; Hugh L. White, 26; Webster, 14; W. P. Mangum, of North Carolina, 11. The electoral vote was much closer. South Carolina alone chose electors by the Legislature. Otherwise the vote was: Van Buren, 761,-549; Opposition, 736,656. As South Carolina was notoriously opposed to Jackson, if the people had voted Van Buren would have been a minority President so far as the people were concerned.

Jackson administration expired in a blaze of glory, and "Old Hickory" retired to his Tennessee home, the Hermitage, while Van Buren undertook to wear his mantle. He retained Jackson's Cabinet, and it looked as if there was to be almost a third term of Jackson rule, when events occurred which changed the whole aspect of affairs. Instead of inheriting the glory of Jackson's achievements, Van Buren fell heir to woes which temporarily sank the party.

We have always been a Nation of speculators. The American likes to discount the future. In this land of rich resources and many opportunities, wealth is made and lost rapidly. When credit is easily obtained rash investments are inevitable. For years the prosperity of the country had been phenomenal. The population surged westward. New cities were built, canals dug, and railroads constructed, beginning in 1829. Speculation became rife. There were a great many State banks, more or less sound, with circulation beyond safe limits. Notes passed at a discount as they got away from home, and greatly demoralized business. Jackson, who had deposited the public funds in favorite State banks, sometimes found

it hard to get specie, and so was issued the famous Specie Circular, which provided that all payments for public lands must be in gold or silver. This made a heavy demand for specie, and bank notes depreciated. The public land sales were so heavy that a large surplus was piled up, so that Clay had, under Jackson, finally gotten through his pet scheme of dividing the surplus among the States according to population. Some $9,000,000 was to be paid in four quarterly installments under the guise of a loan. The first two were paid in specie, but business soon became so uncertain that banks refused specie payments. The third was paid in bank notes, and the fourth was not paid at all, for by the winter of 1837 the worst financial panic the country had ever known swept over it and ruin seemed complete. The harvests were bad, the tariff compromise had discouraged manufactures, and misery was general. Thus when Congress met Van Buren had a serious problem before him. Many of the banks containing public funds had failed utterly, and there was not money enough to pay expenses. Van Buren proposed the sub-treasury system practically as it exists to-day, but Congress refused for two years to adopt it. The Whigs when in power dispensed with it, but it was again restored and exists to this day. Money was borrowed for current expenses, and in the state of public feeling there was no legislation of importance passed. State elections favored the Whigs, who now became hopeful of overthrowing the Democracy. In New York Thurlow Weed, William H. Seward, and Horace Greeley were the rising Whigs, while William L. Marcy and Silas Wright were the Democratic champions. This State eventually became the pivotal one in politics, and its political history is of peculiar interest on this account. The House, which was Democratic by a small majority, elected James K. Polk, of Tennessee,

Speaker, and was inclined to stand by the administration, but Clay still held the Senate in opposition. Debates on slavery showed the rising storm over the subject. North and South began to drift apart on this issue, though Adams said there were not five abolition votes in Congress. In November, 1837, Elijah P. Lovejoy had attempted to start a newspaper in Alton, Ill., after having been driven out of Missouri for printing anti-slavery articles. Lovejoy was murdered by a mob and his press destroyed. This was a bad move for the friends of slavery, for the martyrdom of Lovejoy raised up a host of anti-slavery people who had before been quiescent, and brought to the front as an anti-slavery champion Wendell Phillips, of Boston, who was the chief orator of the movement. Owen Lovejoy, brother of Elijah, soon became a leading anti-slavery man and was chosen to Congress, where later he led the radical wing.

Texas now coquetted for annexation, but as this would mean war with Mexico, Van Buren refused the offer and renewed relations with Mexico. Boundary questions with Great Britain again gave great trouble, but were finally put off for a more convenient season. Van Buren was, in fact, continually on the defensive and accomplished very little in any direction. The hard times, bank failures, peculation of officials, and demagogic charges of extravagance at the White House aroused the opposition, so that when the Twenty-sixth Congress met in December, 1839, the Whigs had a majority in the House, but lost it on contested seats. They organized the House with Robert M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, as Speaker, but no partisan legislation was passed. Everyone was interested in the Presidential succession. And now the National Convention came into existence as a permanent institution. The Whig Convention met at Harrisburg, December 4,

1839. Clay was a candidate, and probably would have been nominated had not the unit rule, by which the delegation in each State voted unanimously, been adopted. This was fatal to Clay, and Harrison was again nominated. Among Clay's warmest supporters was John Tyler, of Virginia, who actually wept to find his friend defeated. Thereupon the Convention nominated Tyler for second place, hoping thus to placate Clay. Bitterly did they rue this action later. The anti-slavery or Liberty party nominated James G. Birney and Thomas Earle as standard-bearers. The Democrats at Baltimore in May, 1840, renominated Van Buren and Johnson. The "Log Cabin" campaign which followed has been ever famous in our annals. Democratic attempts to ridicule Harrison acted as boomerangs. The people, weary with hard times, grew wildly enthusiastic over "Old Tippecanoe," and a whirlwind campaign ensued, in which scarcely any appeal was made to reason or the intellect. Circumstances were against the administration and Harrison won triumphantly. The electoral vote was: Harrison, 234; Van Buren, 60. The popular vote stood: Harrison, 1,275,017; Van Buren, 1,128,702; Birney, 7,059.

It will be noted that the popular vote was close, while the electoral vote for the victor was overwhelming. Van Buren retired from office greatly disappointed. He was a man of ability, upright character, and might have made a reputation had he had a fair chance. He owed his rise to Jackson's favor, but it was the aftermath of Jackson's administration which wrecked him. He deserved a much better fate, and the abuse heaped upon him was senseless. He was a victim of circumstances.

General Harrison was an old man when he took the oath of office, and he lived just one month. His health, which was poor, was aggravated by the horde of office

seekers who rushed to Washington. About all he did was to appoint a Cabinet as follows: Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; John Bell, of Tennessee, Secretary of War; George E. Badger, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; Francis E. Granger, Postmaster-General, and John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, Attorney-General.

Upon the death of Harrison, April 4, 1841, Tyler took the oath of office and became our first accidental President. He temporarily kept Harrison's Cabinet, and for a time it seemed that he was a good Whig and that the Whig program of a National Bank, a new protective tariff law, and land surplus distribution would be carried out. An extra session of Congress was held in May. Clay once more appeared as the leader of the Whig party and laid down his programme, which included the above measures, as well as the repeal of the sub-treasury system. The last was easily accomplished, and a new National Bank bill was passed and sent to the President, but to the surprise and grief of the Whigs, Tyler vetoed it. This did not kill the plan, however, as it was understood that the objections were only to certain provisions in the bill. A new bill was drafted to meet the President's objections, and it was understood that he had agreed to sign it. This bill was also vetoed on Constitutional grounds, and the break with his party was complete. Tyler was no Whig, and the sentimental reasons which dictated his nomination were folly. Tyler aspired to be reëlected, and chose not to be a regular Whig, but sought a coalition. This was a fatal move for him as well as his party. The Cabinet resigned except Webster, who waited to complete some business he had on hand. New appointments were: Walter Forward, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; John C. Spencer, of New York, Secretary of War; Abel P.

Upshur, of Virginia, Secretary of the Navy; Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General, and Hugh S. Legaré, of South Carolina, Attorney-General. Later many changes were made, Calhoun becoming Secretary of State.

The Whig party was now in sore straits. The apostasy of Tyler injured their organization and destroyed all enthusiasm. When Tyler vetoed two tariff bills, their rage knew no bounds, and impeachment was talked of. Finally a compromise tariff bill was agreed on and signed to prevent the last destructive cuts in the compromise act of 1832-3, but the Whigs had no faith in Tyler. Webster finally arranged a treaty by which the Maine boundary and a few other matters were settled with Great Britain, and resigned, being succeeded by Upshur. Pretty soon Tyler again reorganized his Cabinet, filling it largely with Democrats. The administration policy now had nothing to do with Whig doctrine, but concerned itself almost solely with the annexation of Texas. Naturally the slave States were anxious to get territory to carve out States to meet the new additions to the Union from free territory. Texas could furnish perhaps a dozen, and was eagerly desired. Most of the population was from the United States, the soil was contiguous, and, in general, annexation was desirable. The principal objection came from those who wanted no more slave States and who feared that annexation would mean war with Mexico, which was not reconciled to lose her former province. In view of the opposition this was a delicate task, but in the closing days of Tyler's administration a measure was passed vesting in the President discretion to treat for the annexation of Texas either directly or by treaty. Tyler chose to deal directly, and his successor carried out the plan. Tyler long expected to be a candidate for reëlec-

tion, but found he had lost his own party without gaining the support of the Democracy, whose interests he served. His administration was filled with party quarrels, but the Nation in general was prosperous. Business revived, and there were few domestic troubles. The chief disturbance was in Rhode Island, where a revolution was attempted against the narrow and irksome fundamental law, still the ancient royal charter. This so-called Dorr's Rebellion was bloodless and put down without difficulty, but it finally succeeded in forcing a more liberal charter for the people.

Clay once more led the Whigs in 1844, being nominated at Baltimore in May, 1844, with Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, as running mate. The Democrats met in the same city, a few days later. Van Buren was the leading candidate, but the two-thirds rule was adopted, which killed off him as well as Cass, while the first "dark horse" in our history in the person of ex-Speaker James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was nominated. George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, got second honors. Birney was again the candidate of the Liberty party. The contest was exciting, but Clay's inevitable tendency to explain his position, hedge on party policy, and make friends with everybody, lost him his election by a narrow margin. New York turned the scale in favor of Polk, who carried it by a plurality of only 5,000, while Birney received 16,000 votes, many of which would have gone to Clay had he not equivocated on the Texas annexation question and tried to face both ways. This last race for the Presidency he lost by a narrow margin, due to his own lack of moral stamina. In eloquence, originality, and as a leader of constructive legislation Clay has had few rivals, but his convictions were only half deep enough. Honest he was, but shifty. A little of Jacksonian firmness would have made him a far more useful statesman. The electoral vote was: Polk,

170; Clay, 105, New York's 36 turning the scale. The popular vote was: Polk, 1,337,243; Clay, 1,299,068; Birney, 62,300.

A feature of Tyler's administration was the invention of the electric telegraph by S. F. B. Morse, assisted by Alfred Vail. Congress gave aid to the project, and the first line was opened between Baltimore and Washington in 1844. This system spread rapidly all over the world, and has been of incalculable benefit to mankind. Perhaps no single invention has produced so much good. In 1898 it was estimated that there were 900,000 miles of line and almost 3,000,000 miles of telegraph wire in use throughout the world.*

The administration of Polk is one of the most successful in our history, viewed from a material standard. He entered office with a definite purpose in view and accomplished it. In spite of all attempts at sophistry, the real issue in 1844 was the annexation of Texas. If it had been a question of the extension of slavery within our own border, Clay would have won. But the annexation of Texas seemed in itself so desirable that the slavery question was put in the background and the issue at best was a mixed one. Clay was evasive on the issue for Southern consumption, which not only did him no good, but lost to him support in the North. The issue of slavery extension had been rising for years. The handful of men and women who followed Garrison and Birney had no strength in politics, but they created an issue which ripened rapidly in later years. John Quincy Adams was no doctrinaire, but he stood by his guns and fought for the right of petition until he won. The Old Man Eloquent reached his highest fame when he compelled by logic, by invective, and by an aroused moral sentiment an unwilling Congress

*See Volume "Achievements XIX Century.

to obey the Constitution. The tactics of the opposition were bad from the start. The slavery propaganda made one continuous series of errors, which finally caused the overthrow of their peculiar domestic institution.

Van Buren's administration failed, because it inherited all the ills arising out of Jackson's bad policy. Tyler's failed because he turned apostate, and yet the failure is, in a political sense only, for Tyler's was a good administration, and the country prospered, while National finances were carefully looked after. Tyler never was a Whig at heart, and made a mistake in enlisting under that party's banner if he did not subscribe to its doctrine. But Polk was a thorough disciple of Jeffersonian Democracy, who had learned his lessons well. He entered the Presidency resolved to secure the annexation of Texas at any cost, and he succeeded. The country had a successful foreign war, greatly increased its territory, and added to its prestige abroad. For his advisers Polk chose: James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury; William L. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of War; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General, and John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

Victorious as the party has been, it was by no means harmonious, particularly in the great pivotal State of New York, there were differences on public questions which required delicate adjustment to keep in line. There a clear issue on the slavery extension question would have defeated Polk, and there in 1848 it did defeat his party's successor.

Aside from the Texas issue, which was complicated by the fear that both France and Great Britain were

coquetting for control, the Oregon question was an important one. We laid claim to the Oregon country from the forty-second parallel of latitude to 54 degrees 40 minutes under various claims of discovery, exploration, and purchase. The issue had been disputed since the days of Jefferson without settlement. The time had now come for a decision. Taking a false cue, the Democrats raised the cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight," but that was a blind. Polk was willing to concede something in the wilderness of the Northwest for the sake of being let alone in the Texas matter, and a treaty with Great Britain finally fixed the Forty-ninth parallel to Puget's Sound as our boundary after negotiations had been suspended and a rupture was feared.

Tyler's messenger, despatched in haste to deal with the subject, found Texas waiting. The Lone Star Republic declared for annexation with boundaries of her own choosing and in December, 1846, the resolution of annexation passed Congress, and was duly signed.

The high-tariff men who had been convinced that Polk and his party were protectionists equally with Whigs soon had a rude awakening. Walker was a shrewd financier, and no mean politician. He prepared a tariff measure which was not only a purely revenue producer, but had the original idea of levying duties on the value of the importations and not the mass. The ad valorem idea was correct in theory, but opened the door to innumerable frauds. The Walker tariff was driven through Congress by whip and spur. In the Senate it prevailed solely by the casting vote of Dallas, who was from the greatest protection State in the Union. Terrible was the wrath of the Whigs, but they suffered from their own lack of moral convictions. Their shifty

position had cost them dear. Nevertheless the Walker tariff was a good revenue producer and remained unchanged, except in a few particulars, up to the outbreak of the civil war.

The annexation of Texas meant war with Mexico. The desire of the administration was to throw the burden of beginning it on Mexico, and this was shrewdly accomplished. Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General Zachary Taylor was sent to Corpus Christi, Texas, with a small army "to observe" and was finally ordered to the east bank of the Rio Grande with Point Isabel as his base. Texas had generously voted itself territory to the Rio Grande, and immense tracts in the Northwest. This was presumptuous as under Mexican dominion she had less territory than the present State contains. Beyond the Colorado, or at most, the Nueces, the territory certainly was in dispute. Across this latter territory Taylor, according to orders, marched to a point opposite Matamoras and erected a fort. Leaving a small garrison in Fort Brown, he marched to his base. Hearing that the fort was attacked, he started to relieve it, and on the way fought the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, May 8 and 9, 1846, defeating superior forces after sharp contests. Compared with later battles, the casualities were not large, but reports of them created the greatest excitement in the United States. As we had annexed the soil on which the battles were fought, Polk sent a message to Congress announcing that a state of war existed by the act of Mexico in shedding American blood on American soil. It is true that many people denied that the soil was incontestably American, but the war fever rose high and Congress promptly responded. Fifty thousand volunteers were called for,

and money voted for the war without stint. Taylor was ordered to move forward into Mexico, and the war began in earnest.

Mexico, which had recently suffered severely from revolutions and internal disorders, resolved on making a brave resistance, and, considering her resources, she did well. It was not along the Rio Grande alone that she had her fears. California was even in these days, before gold was thought of, looked upon as desirable territory, and several "exploring" expeditions had been sent thither. John C. Frémont, son-in-law of Senator Benton, had gained the title of "Pathfinder" in 1842 and 1843 by crossing the Rocky Mountains into California, and exploring most of the country west of the range. In August, 1846, General Kearney marched on Santa Fé, New Mexico, and captured it, and there a part of his forces marched across to meet Taylor. Frémont led a small force to California, and in connection with the navy, easily seized the whole of the Pacific Coast almost without loss.

Thus stood the situation when Congress met in December, 1846. In truth, the people were by no means unanimously satisfied with the way the war had been brought on. Polk was blamed for unnecessarily precipitating it at a time when he had asked for an appropriation to negotiate with Mexico for a purchase and settlement of the issue. In the summer of 1846 Congress was ready to give $2,000,000 for the purpose, but an amendment was offered to the appropriation which killed it. This amendment, known in history as the Wilmot Proviso from David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, who offered it, provided that no part of the territory to be purchased with the money should be open to slavery. As it was desired to gain territory in California

for the sole purpose of making seven States, the Southern people would not have it, and so the bill fell. This Proviso was offered at each session for several years, became the new rallying cry in politics, and at last furnished the Whigs with a moral issue which they did not wholly adopt.

Congress could not refuse war bills, and the conquest of Mexico went on. Troops were rushed to the Rio Grande. Taylor moved across the river, took Matamoras, and then moved westward to Monterey, which was naturally a strong position, and defended by a large garrison. After careful investment the place was assaulted and fell in September, after heavy losses on both sides. This victory still further aroused enthusiasm in the United States, and Taylor was the hero of the hour. The administration was greatly embarrassed by the praise of Taylor, who was a Southern man and a Whig, though he was absolutely no politician. The commander of the army was Winfield Scott, also a Whig, but with decided ambitions. There was no Democratic General in the army to rank either of these, and the administration was by no means inclined to make Whig heroes. Polk thought at one time of making Benton a Lieutenant-General, but this fell through. Scott, naturally, wanted to go to Mexico, and lead the army to victory, and prepared a plan for landing at Vera Cruz, and marching to the capital over the route followed by Cortez. After long hesitation, and when no other course was open, Polk consented, and Scott started for the front. Calling at Point Isabel, he took most of Taylor's regulars there without seeing him, and sailed for Vera Cruz. After a bombardment by the navy that city fell March 29, 1847, and Scott prepared to march his little army to the interior.

In the meantime Taylor had marched westward, and nothing had been heard from him for a long time. Santa Anna, once more in power, had raised a large army and prepared to destroy him. On February 23, 1847, Taylor took up a strong position at Buena Vista, and defeated Santa Anna in the hardest fought battle of the war, against terrible odds, for most of his small force was composed of raw troops. Santa Anna then withdrew and marched overland to meet Scott. The victory of Buena Vista was the most brilliant of the war, and made the modest Taylor a Presidential candidate in spite of himself. Scott moved his small army with order and precision toward the capital. His force was far less than he had been promised, but he moved ahead until he came to the pass of Cerro Gordo, where the road enters a ravine, flanked on each side by high mountains. By almost superhuman exertions, Santa Anna had raised another army to oppose the invaders. It appeared at first sight that the Mexican position was impregnable, but Scott, who was an able General, in spite of some personal eccentricities, detected one weak spot, sent a detachment to take it, and finally drove Santa Anna's army in wild flight to the rear, April 17, 1847, after a most brilliantly planned and executed battle. Marching on leisurely, no resistance was encountered until in the neighborhood of the City of Mexico. At Contreras Santa Anna was again defeated, August 20, while other victories were at Churubusco and San Antonio on the same day. The Americans were outnumbered, but they fought desperately, and won against great odds. Scott now was almost at the gates of the capital, when Nicholas Trist, of the State Department, arrived to negotiate a treaty, much to the disgust of General Scott. An armstice was concluded, but the negotiations came

BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA

to nothing, and early in September fighting was renewed. The high castle of Chapultepec was assaulted, and Molino del Rey captured, September 7-8, after hard fighting. The castle was finally taken by assault on the 13th, and the city fell. This practically ended the war, in which our arms were ever victorious, and which proved a training school for young officers, who fought on both sides in the Civil War.

The treaty of peace was agreed on early in 1848, and ratified by both nations, by which Mexico yielded all the territory then known as New Mexico and California, but including also the present State of Nevada, part of Colorado, and all of Arizona. To salve National conscience a large sum was paid for this territory.

The Congress which met in 1847 was in no friendly mood toward the administration. The Whigs elected Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, Speaker, and gave the administration money for the war, but no political support. In this Congress appeared Abraham Lincoln, who, as a Whig, supported the war bills, but invariably voted for the Wilmot Proviso, which struck at the root of the administration policy. Indeed the Whigs had been gaining ground in State elections, so that they hoped to carry the next National election, and were disposed to do as little for Polk as possible. He was allowed to conquer Mexico, but his party was deprived of the fruits of victory. While this Congress was in session and the slavery question was being agitated, John Quincy Adams fell over in his seat unconscious, and died sixty hours later, February 23, in the Speaker's room. His death was a shock to the whole country, and nowhere was his loss mourned so much as in the House, where he had long been the most conspicuous figure. When, as usual, after the last rites were paid,

eulogies were delivered on the departed statesman, some of the sincerest and the most just were from those who had fought him most bitterly. Adams' antagonists knew the worth of his steel; they knew his moral fiber. As incorruptible as Cato, he was revered by those who had most writhed beneath his unsparing invective. Adams was an able man, with a wonderful career in almost every walk in public life. Yet he never honored himself or served his country so well as when, after accepting her highest honor, he served his own constituents for almost a score of years in the popular branch of Congress.*

There was no doubt that Taylor was the Whig favorite for the Presidential nomination. "Old Rough and Ready," who had served nearly all his life in the army, was no politician, and had no ambitions until his victories created a sentiment he could not ignore. He did not seek the office, and doubted his fitness, but the popular demand was for him. Clay was again a candidate, and so was Webster. Naturally neither looked with favor on a candidate without political experience, who had never been heard of until a few months before. The Whig convention met in Philadelphia, June 7, 1848, and nominated Taylor on the fourth ballot. The second honor was offered to Webster, who refused, and it went to Millard Fillmore, of New York. Taylor had written a letter to a friend before the convention expressing modestly his views on public questions, which so pleased the convention that they did not even adopt a platform. The Whigs were generally pleased with the ticket outside of party leaders, who could not believe it possible a mere military chieftain could be preferred before the wheel horses. Both Webster and Clay were bitter in

*See Volume "American Statesmen."

denunciation of the ticket, though at last they gave a grudging consent to it. Clay had been out of the Senate for some time, and now felt that his public career was ended.

And now appeared that split in the Democracy long foreseen, but which up to this time had not been fatal. While there were Whigs with moral ideas, the party programme was almost exclusively a commercial one. Moral ideas now split the Democracy in twain. The war was over, and we had gained an immense territory in the West. The Southern people earnestly desired that this be divided up into slave States to offset the rapidly increasing number of free States in the Northwest. But there was a sentiment opposed to this that was not confined to party lines. Slavery was becoming recognized as a moral evil, and while no one in authority was disposed to interfere with slavery where it existed, there was a rapidly growing feeling that the Wilmot Proviso was the proper stand, and so many Northern Democrats had no desire to see California and New Mexico cut up into slave States.

The Democrats had nominated General Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for President, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President, at a convention held in Baltimore, May 22-26, after compromising a contest over rival delegations from New York, where "barn burners" and "hunkers" each applied for admission. These factions represented the new and the old Democracy. The former were inclined to the Wilmot Proviso, and left the convention. Cass was a respectable candidate of long service, belonged to a bygone age, and had no moral scruples on the question of slavery extension. The nominations did not suit a large portion of the Democracy, who were in favor of making the

new acquisitions free soil. Van Buren was nominated by this Free Soil Democracy for the Presidency, with Charles Francis Adams as running mate. This third party movement did not carry a single State, but it elected Taylor. The electoral vote stood: Taylor, 163; Cass, 127; New York once more turning the scale, giving more votes to Van Buren than to Cass. The popular vote stood: Van Buren, 291,263; Cass, 1,220,544; Taylor, 1,360,101.

Great was the indignation among Southern slavery leaders over the result. Taylor was a Southerner and a slaveholder, but he did not meet their views. They believed they were about to be robbed of the fruits of the Mexican War, and secession was strongly threatened unless slavery followed the flag. It was a chagrin to Polk to find himself supplanted by one of his subordinate officers of a few years before, but he made the best of it and retired from office after having accomplished this whole purpose. Congress would do nothing for California and New Mexico, but make the barest provision for territorial government, leaving the whole subject for the next administration to deal with. Zachary Taylor, and the man who served as a lieutenant under him, who was inaugurated just twenty years later, are the only Presidents in our history absolutely without any civil training. Taylor was a thorough soldier, a man of some culture, wide reading, and great common sense. He had no watchword but duty, and no one ever swerved him from it. His inaugural was brief, but couched in unmistakable phrases. He would do his duty in spite of all opposition, and the people believed him. He chose for his Cabinet: John M. Clayton, of Delaware, Secretary of State; William M. Meredith, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. Crawford,

of Georgia, Secretary of War; William B. Preston, of South Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, Postmaster-General, and Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, Attorney-General. Congress had recently added the Interior Department to relieve the other Cabinet officers, who were overworked.

This was not a strong Cabinet, and it was chosen largely by John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, an old friend of Taylor's. It was impossible for the latter to expect help of Clay or Webster after their action during the campaign. After the inauguration Taylor sent officials to California and New Mexico, urging them to adopt constitutions and apply for admission to the Union. The news of the discovery of gold in California had just arrived, and there was a mad rush to the Pacific slope in every way that was possible to reach it. California was soon ready for admission, but fifty years later New Mexico was still outside the Union. When Congress met, Taylor was ready to let home rule decide all questions of slavery, but the slave-holding element was not willing to concede anything. After sixty years under the Constitution we reached a crisis which at one time seemed destined to bring about civil war. That fatality was, however, postponed for a decade, until Whig leaders and Whig politics were dead.

THE FOURTH PERIOD

FROM THE COMPROMISES OF 1850 TO THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR

The foreigner who viewed the United States in January, 1850, must have considered it the most fortunate Nation in the world. And with good reason. We had just emerged from a foreign war, successful beyond compare. Neither men, money, nor victory were wanting at any stage of the conflict with Mexico. We had gained territory which was an empire in extent, and it was hardly confirmed in our possession before it was found to contain the richest gold fields in the world.

There were not a few statesmen in 1848 who viewed this acquisition with as much alarm as fifty years later did other statesmen view the acquisition of the Philippines, or as, nearly fifty years before, some of the fathers of the Republic had looked upon the Louisiana cession. In 1803 these statesmen said the Republic was doomed because the Nation could never become homogeneous, yet they lived to see steamboats and railroads connect all parts of the country, so that in 1830 one could go from Washington to New Orleans as quickly as in 1803 he went from the same city to Cincinnati.

In 1848 California was further away, in point of time, than were the Philippines in 1898. This territory had easily been gained by a little band of pathfinders and a small navy. But might not it be as easily lost? There were three routes. To go in a sailing vessel around Cape Horn took six months; to go by the Cen-

tral American routes as many weeks, not without dangers and discomforts; while the overland routes were tedious; fever, famine, and Indians preventing many from reaching the fields of gold. The fears were in vain, for in a few years American ingenuity, enterprise, courage, and capital brought California within easy reach, and two decades found the Golden Gate joined to the Eastern harbors by continuous railway systems. Is there not in these precedents a guide for statesmen of later generations?

The census, about to be taken with more care than ever, showed a remarkable increase in wealth, population, and diversified industries. The famine in Ireland and the revolutions in nearly every European State had caused a heavy wave of immigration to set in toward our shores, where the cheap and fertile lands were quickly taken up. In a few months California had a larger population than Delaware, Florida, or Rhode Island, two of which belonged to the Original Thirteen.

To an outsider the country seemed in an impregnable position, with most flattering prospects. Whence, then, the feeling of unrest which pervaded the political atmosphere and made some of the ablest men in statesmanship pessimistic? It was not so much a material condition as an abstract theory that, like a canker-worm, gnawed at the vitals of the Republic. So far from a placid situation, there has seldom been, during times of peace in this country, a more critical condition of affairs. It was not the problems of legitimacy or the rights of man, such as had so recently racked the Old World nations and established a new order of things. These we had settled generations before. The sole question at issue was that of slavery extension.

The three slavery compromises of the Constitution

had settled some of the problems involved, while the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had settled the territorial limits of slavery so far as the then existing Nation was concerned. Thereafter an equilibrium had been maintained by admitting simultaneously a free and a slave State. Florida and Texas, new acquisitions, had been made slave States, but now that California and New Mexico (the latter including much more territory than as at present organized) were ours, a dispute arose as to whether the Missouri Compromise line of 36 deg. 30 min. did, in fact, run to the Pacific; whether it ought to do so; or whether all the new territory should be given to slavery or remain free soil. Each proposition had its followers.

The President, Zachary Taylor, a Louisiana slaveholder, was the first and only one to be elected from without the territory confirmed to us at the close of the Revolution. He was a brave and successful General, a modest man, an earnest patriot, who did not believe any great National principle was involved, but wanted every question settled on its individual merits. He had received a majority of votes from both sections, and was considered a safe man. The question of slavery abolition had scarcely any following in politics, though many persons North and South believed the institution immoral. The leading issue was that of extending slavery, though there were others connected with it. The Wilmot Proviso, which had tried in advance to keep slavery out of the new possessions, had never passed both Houses of any one Congress, but it furnished the principal rallying cry in politics.

So serious was the condition that many of our wisest statesmen believed the country was on the verge of dissolution, and secession was freely talked of in case the

South did not get her "rights." In the North the free soil idea was most prevalent. In the South the demand was made for slavery in all the new territory; while in the center the tendency as usual was to compromise, particularly in the border slavery States, where the institution was less profitable than in the cotton fields of the Gulf States.

The Congress which met in December, 1849, did nothing until the New Year. Then it set about curing the "five bleeding wounds" of the Republic. The South demanded:

Slavery in the new territory.

A new fugitive slave law.

Compensation to Texas for territorial claims.

The North demanded:

Free soil in the new territories.

Abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

Both demanded:

Governments for California, New Mexico, and Utah.

This Congress was the most remarkable that ever sat in this country. The Senate seemed to have drawn on all the commanding ability in the whole Nation, and it never before nor since has reached so high a level in experience and intellectual abilities. We count six men of the highest rank, but all differing in temperament, mental make-up, and political views.

The great triumvirate of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun sat for the last time. For more than a generation these had been the controlling spirits of the Senate, "sometimes in opposition, always in rivalry, invincible in unison."

Of these Clay was the leader in constructive legislation. No man in America has rivaled him in persuasive-

ness as an orator. He was an opportunist. His policy was always on broad lines, but he was ever willing to shift his ground to gain a tactical advantage or placate his enemies. Thus, though he had been in public life for nearly half a century, and had left a lasting impression on history, he ever failed of his Presidential ambitions. No man, unless it be James G. Blaine, ever had so large and devoted a personal following, but thrice he was defeated before the people, and twice he failed of a nomination that would have brought him the prize. He had come back, in his age, to save the country—as he hoped—but he left it a heritage that in ten years brought civil war.

Webster, the godlike, was also in his last term. No greater intellect, no more sublime orator, has this country produced. He was no constructive statesman, but no man, except Chief Justice Marshall, has done so much to weld the Republic of States into a Nation. He also had failed of his ambitions, but unlike Clay, his chief ambition was still alive. In public esteem he was now at his greatest height. In a few weeks he was to lose much of it among those who knew and loved him best.

Calhoun was on the verge of the grave. He was aged and bent. He was now a political misanthrope. Calhoun is unique among our statesmen. In personal life beyond reproach, he changed his earlier career of nationalism into the narrow channel of States' rights. His doctrine of Nullification was to him law and gospel. His theory that a State might nullify any law it believed unconstitutional dominated the last twenty years of his public life. He did more lasting damage in raising up a school of younger men who carried his theories into practice, while there is evidence that Calhoun never

believed in doing so by force, in spite of the threats of South Carolina in 1832. The Republic must not only maintain the equilibrium of slave and free States, he thought, but must have a dual executive to see that the equilibrium was never disturbed.

The second group of three Senators was less known, but two of them were destined to become leaders of the Senate. Benton was completing his sixth and last term in the Senate. He was a sturdy Western statesman, the friend of Jackson, champion of coin as money, opposed to slavery, but a slaveholder; opposed to compromise, and in no sense a theorist. His action this winter cost him a reëlection, and his thirty years of consecutive service remained unequaled until Senator Morrill, of Vermont, who died in 1898, exceeded his record by nearly two years.

Jefferson Davis was now a Senator from Mississippi, after a remarkable career for a young man. A graduate of West Point, a good soldier in the Mexican War, a planter, he had reëntered politics as a disciple of Calhoun, and soon became the leader of the radical wing of his party, though he was himself until the last conservative in speech and willing to compromise.

The last of this group was the boyish-looking Wm. H. Seward, of New York, who had already been Governor of his State, and was destined to wield great influence on the future of the country. With little experience in Congressional life, he was unhindered by tradition, and his hopeful nature left him unvexed by threats. He kept ever the moral view of all questions to the front in legislation, instead of the purely practical effect. But he was no mean politician, as the success of the political firm of Seward, Weed, and Greeley shows

These were the six leaders of thought in the Senate, soon to dwindle to two. But there were other giants in those days.

William Rufus King, of Alabama, was soon to be Vice-President, and to die before taking his seat, the oath of office, by special act of Congress, being administered in Havana. Truman Smith, of Connecticut, was Chairman of the Whig National Committee, a man of great ability, who had refused a Cabinet portfolio. David L. Yulee was one of the few Hebrews who have sat is the Senate. John M. Berrien, a Georgia Whig, was a man of long experience in public affairs. Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, was already one of the Senate leaders, and destined to a remarkable career. James Shields, his colleague, was one of the most remarkable men in politics. He once started to fight a duel with Abraham Lincoln. He served gallantly in the Mexican War, and lost his seat in this session on a technicality, only to be reëlected, and in later years served in the Senate from Minnesota and Missouri, and again served valliantly as a Brigadier-General in the Civil War. Few men have had such a remarkable record. George W. Jones, of Iowa, lived to be over ninety; James W. Bradbury, of Maine, is the sole survivor of this Senate (1899); Dodge, of Iowa, was the son of Dodge, of Wisconsin, and boasted that he always did his own work and never had a servant.

Kentucky furnished, as Clay's colleague, Joseph R. Underwood, one of her distinguished sons. Pierre Soulé, of Louisiana, a French refugee, had a long career before he got to the Senate, and a remarkable one after he left that body. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was to be Vice-President with Lincoln. These two men never met until they were elected, though each had heard the

other speak in Congress. Webster's colleague was John Davis, who had not the eloquence of the former, but was one of the oldest and best legislators in either house. Jefferson Davis' colleague was Henry Stuart Foote, sometimes called "Hangman Foote" from an expression used in debate. He drew a loaded pistol in the Senate and created a sensation. He and Davis were personal and factional political foes, though both Democrats. Later Foote defeated Davis for the Governorship of Mississippi. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was the recent Democratic candidate for President. He served longer in more prominent positions than almost any man in our history. Like Clay, he was defeated for President before the people for election, and defeated in convention when his nomination would have been equivalent to an election. He had ten years more of active service before him, though already an old man. Alpheus Felch, of Michigan, lived almost to the end of the century, dying near the century mark, after holding many offices of trust in his State.

Benton's Missouri colleague was Davis R. Atchison, soon to take an active part in the struggle for Kansas, and whose name is perpetuated in the thriving Western city. John P. Hale was a free soiler from New Hampshire, soon to be the candidate of his party for President. Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, had been Governor of his State, and a prominent figure in National party politics. William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, was Frémont's running mate in 1856. Willie P. Mangum and George E. Badger were North Carolina Whigs, held in high esteem by all. Badger did his best to keep his State in the Union. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, was the famous statesman whose wit, he said, cost him the Presidency. His colleague, Salmon P. Chase, was destined

to higher honors in a few years. Daniel Sturgeon, of Pennsylvania, never made but a single remark in Congress, while his colleague, James Cooper, one of the youngest men in the Senate, was one of the first Brigadiers appointed by Lincoln in 1861, and died early in the war.

Albert C. Greene, of Rhode Island, belonged to the family of Washington's favorite General. Calhoun's colleague was Andrew P. Butler, a scholarly man of many genial qualities, who was bitterly attacked later in the Senate by Charles Sumner, and Sumner was in turn beaten down with a cane by Preston Brooks, a nephew of Butler.

John Bell, of Tennessee, was in 1860 the Union party candidate for President. Sam Houston had the most picturesque career in American politics. While Governor of Tennessee, for some reason not fully known, he disappeared, and later turned up in Texas as leader of the Revolutionists, winning the bloody fight at San Jacinto. He was a sturdy statesman, and a foe to compromise, remaining faithful to the Union in 1861. Samuel S. Phelps, of Vermont, was father of our Minister to Great Britain in Cleveland's first term, and was one of the few New England members of Congress who apologized for slavery. James M. Mason, of Virginia, was one of the Confederate Commissioners captured on the Trent by Wilkes; and Robert M. T. Hunter became a member of the Confederate Cabinet. General Henry Dodge, father of the Iowa Senator, had a long experience in public affairs. His colleague, Isaac P. Walker, was a pro-slavery man, and was soon asked by the Wisconsin Legislature to resign, but he refused. Even this long list does not exhaust the membership of the Senate, but enough names are mentioned to show

what a remarkable body it was. It is remarkable that most of these Senators attained a great age, many living until past eighty, and several until past ninety.

The House of Representatives naturally could not rank so high when so large a portion of the country's able statesmen were in the Senate, yet the roll contained many already distinguished men, and more destined to later fame.

The Georgia delegation included the puny Alexander Stephens, later Vice-President of the Confederacy. He served in Congress many years after the war, his brain clear to the last, even though he was a helpless cripple, scarcely larger than a twelve-year-old boy, and pushed about in a rolling chair. One colleague was Robert Toombs, the impetuous giant of Georgia, who was a near neighbor and friend of Stephens. When Georgia ceased electing Congressmen on a general ticket the Legislature resorted to a remarkable gerrymander to give each a chance to retain his seat. In this delegation also was Howell Cobb, one of the most popular men in Congress, elected Speaker by a plurality vote only after a long three-cornered contest. From Illinois came "Long John" Wentworth, for two generations one of the prominent men in Chicago; John A. McClernand, who later attained a high rank in the Federal Army; and Edward D. Baker, bosom friend of Lincoln, one of the first Federal field officers to fall in the Civil War.

From Indiana came George W. Julian, soon to be Hale's running mate on the Free Soil ticket; and Joseph E. McDonald, who later served many years in the Senate. From Kentucky came the veteran Linn Boyd, a future Speaker, and the brilliant Humphrey Marshall, whose career closed so tragically. From Maryland came Richard J. Bowie and Robert M. McLane. From

Massachusetts, Robert C. Winthrop, the defeated candidate for Speaker; George Ashmun, Julius Rockwell, and Horace Mann. From Mississippi, Jacob Thompson, later in Buchanan's Cabinet. The New York delegation of thirty-four members had twenty-four new men, and was therefore less influential than its numbers would indicate. Some of the members were: James Brooks, Hugh White, Preston King, A. M. Schemerhorn, and Lorenzo Burrows. All the members were Whigs but two, and King was a Free-Soiler. Thomas L. Clingman was a leading member from North Carolina. Robert C. Schenck, of poker fame; Samuel F. Vinton, and Joshua R. Giddings, were the leading members from Ohio.

From Pennsylvania came David Wilmot of "proviso" fame; Thaddeus Stevens, in later years the undisputed master of the House, and Joseph R. Chandler. James L. Orr, of South Carolina, was the best known of the South Carolina delegation. From Tennessee came Andrew Johnson, later an accidental President; Meredith P. Gentry, a sterling Whig, whom Johnson defeated for Governor, and Isham G. Harris, who had nearly fifty years of public life before him. Harris was elected the year that John Quincy Adams died. Adams had been in public life most of the time from the Revolution until 1848, and Harris served in public capacity for nearly fifty years longer, dying a Senator in 1897. Thus two official lives more than compassed a century. In the Virginia delegation were Thomas S. Bocock and James A. Seddon, later Jefferson Davis' Secretary of War.

One can see that this was a body of strong men, even if not so brilliant or so well known as the Senators.

Politically it was a little difficult to classify Congress, but the Whig Almanac gave them thus:

Senate—Whigs, 25; Democrats, 33; Free-Soilers, 2.

House—Whigs, 111; Democrats, 116; not classified, 3; vacancy, 1.

These were the men who were to wrestle with the great sectional problem, and it would seem as if they could solve it if legislation were all that was needed. There were a few Northern Radicals, who were opposed to any compromise with slavery. There were a few Southern Radicals, who demanded that all the new territory should be given to slavery. But the majority were willing to concede something for National harmony. There were those, like Benton, who denied that there was any National political disease, or that any remedy was needed. But most members felt that something must be done to settle the status of slavery in the new territory. Already California had in convention unanimously adopted a constitution prohibiting slavery, and it was knocking at the door of Congress for admission. Texas claimed a large part of New Mexico, and was actually proposing to make war on that territory, which in turn was trying to become a State. There was need for a territorial government of Utah, now that it was coming in touch with the rest of the country. Moreover, the Supreme Court, by a recent decision, had practically rendered it impossible to capture runaway slaves in the North by deciding that, while State courts might take jurisdiction in runaway cases and county jailers might detain the prisoners, there was no obligation to do so. As the Northern sentiment against slavery was being aroused, and particularly by the capture of slaves who had long lived in fancied security, it was evi-

dent that little dependence could be placed by slave hunters on the officials where local sentiment was against slavery.

These were all very serious problems, and it devolved on this Congress to try to solve them. Henry Clay reached the Capitol some time after the session began. He was old, and his ambitions had fled. He had only returned to the Senate in order once more to harmonize the conflicting interests, and only took the lead when he found no one else disposed to do so. He included all controverted subjects in one measure, and introduced, on January 29th, resolutions later reduced to a bill of thirty-nine sections which was known as the Omnibus Bill. This bill provided for the admission of California as a free State, New Mexico and Utah to be made territories, and to be admitted as States with or without slavery, as the people desired; Texas to be given compensation for the territory claimed from New Mexico; abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but no abolition of slavery therein without the consent of Maryland, and a stringent fugitive slave law to be executed by the Federal courts. Twice Clay spoke in favor of the measure, and the Senate was crowded to hear the silver tongued orator who, in his age, commanded men by his earnestness and pathos as he had, in earlier years, by his fiery flights of imaginative oratory. Then came the greatest outburst of oratory Congress has ever known. Calhoun prepared a speech, which was read by a fellow Senator, while Calhoun, like a disembodied spirit, was present almost for the last time. It was pessimistic in tone, and suggested a remedy that was impossible, though it professed deep attachment for the Union that must have been sincere. Webster was gained over by Clay and, in his famous "Seventh of

March" speech, declared for the compromises to the great distress of many of his warmest friends, who chiefly opposed the fugitive slave law, and who felt he had receded from his recent position with regard to slavery extension. Jefferson Davis declared that slavery was sanctioned by the Bible, and that the Missouri Compromise line must be extended to the Pacific as the greatest possible concession by the South. Seward spoke against the Compromise and, in what is called his "Higher Law" speech, said that there was "a higher law than the Constitution," that governed, or should govern, our legislation, though he did not mean that it was antagonistic to the Constitution. Benton attacked the bill, saying that no new legislation was necessary. Nearly all the leading Senators spoke on the measure, but it failed to pass. One section after another was stricken out, until it became only a bill to organize Utah as a territory, and even this did not take place while Taylor lived.

Intense excitement had been roused North and South. Each section felt it was called upon to give up too much by the proposed compromises, and no one seemed satisfied. President Taylor opposed the compromises; and, while he lived, there seemed no possibility of legislation on the subject. There was talk of secession in those days, but Taylor replied that it was impossible and that he could lead an army of Southerners and suppress any such attempt. His plan was to admit California at once, await the action of New Mexico, and not load all the political differences on the back of California.

During the Fourth of July celebration, 1850, President Taylor had injudiciously eaten heartily of some fruit and paid no attention to a subsequent illness. Soon his condition was serious, and on the 9th he died. This was a shock to the Nation and wreck to the Whig party, which

lost the only two Presidents it elected. Taylor had won the people by his brilliant generalship, his modesty, the directness of his speech, and simplicity of manner. He was elected without a platform, carrying both the North and the South on popular vote. His inauguration speech had been brief, yet strong. Duty was his watchword and he never failed to do what seemed to him to be his duty.

His death cleared the political atmosphere for some time. Personal animosities and partisan rancor were forgotten in the national grief, for Taylor was admired even by his political opponents. Millard Fillmore was inaugurated President and, in the rearrangement of the Cabinet, Webster became Secretary of State; his place in the Senate being taken for a few months by Robert Winthrop, who lived for nearly fifty years thereafter. Sumner got the full term.

After the defeat of the Omnibus Bill, Clay looked the situation over and found it by no means so hopeless as he had at first thought. Fillmore was favorable to the compromises; and it was discovered that, while the Omnibus Bill could not pass as a whole, it could pass by making separate bills of each item in controversy. Some Senators were for one measure and against others, but finally every one of them was passed, though the majority in each case was differently composed. The House passed them all after a hard struggle. This was the principal legislation of the session. Other measures passed provided for some changes in disposing of public lands, abolishing flogging in the navy, providing for an industrial as well as numerical census; while attempts to get a new tariff bill through failed by a narrow margin. This was the last controversy over slavery that was dignified and wherein each side gave the other full credit for sincerity. Concessions were made on both sides, solely because it was believed a permanent

adjustment had been made of all matters in controversy. Otherwise the compromises would have failed.

In diplomacy the chief event of Taylor's administration was the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which has been in dispute ever since. It was supposed that Great Britain would entirely retire from the Mosquito Coast, but she has never done so, claiming her rights under her own interpretation of the treaty. The importance of this point was due to the fact that the main part of the treaty provided that the Nicaraugua Canal, when built, should be neutral under the dual control of Great Britain and the United States; hence the desire to have Great Britain evacuate the neighboring Mosquito Coast, which was a menace to the neutrality of the canal.

Webster, now Secretary of State, gained rather doubtful glory for a diplomatic correspondence with the Chevalier Hulsemann, the representative of Austro-Hungary. During the Hungarian Revolution, Taylor had sent a representative to Vienna to observe and recognize Hungarian independence, if it was justified. The revolution failed, and Taylor mentioned the fact in his annual message. This drew a protest from Hulsemann, saying it was a violation of good faith by a friendly Nation. Webster's reply, known as "the Hulsemann Letter," was a spread-eagle document for home consumption rather than a dignified State paper. It justified the late President's action in language that was hardly essential to diplomacy, but was universally popular at the time.

This narration of the "Compromises of 1850" is given with such detail because it was the climax of difficulties that had existed since the former compromise of 1832, and because they gave direction to all political divisions up to the Civil War. Congress believed it had

acted for the best, and many believed that at last a remedy had been found for the ills the country had so long suffered. It unfortunately proved that it provoked more heart-burnings than it assuaged, and the ten stormy years to follow ended in civil war. Any suggestion at this time that the agitation would shortly reopen was treated with scorn. The Compromises were considered a solemn pledge for the future in the interest of sectional peace.

The South was dissatisfied over the loss of slavery in California, and the so-called "popular sovereignty" in New Mexico and Utah amounted to little as an offset since it soon appeared that years must elapse before they could become States. There was great opposition, in some parts of the North, to the new fugitive slave law, which was denounced in public meetings and sometimes forcibly resisted.

The elections of 1850 showed many changes. The Whig party was breaking up. In the North many of its members went over to the Free Soil Democracy, and in the South Democracy gained by discontent over the Compromises. The census showed a total population of 23,257,723, an increase of 36.25 per cent. There were 3,198,324 slaves. The manufacturing interests showed a great growth in number, value, and out-put of finished material. The assessed value of personal and real property was given as a little over $6,000,000,000, while the actual value was put at a little over $7,000,000,000. The improved farm acreage was 118,435,178, and the unimproved was over 180,000,000; all valued at $3,266,000,000, or over one-half the total wealth of the country.

The year 1851 is important in view of recent (1898) events because the first large filibustering expedition was sent from this country to Cuba. It had no official status

of any kind. It was not invited by Cubans anxious to be freed from Spain, but was undertaken by Narciso Lopez, a South American adventurer, who made friends among Southern men who had long believed that Cuba should become a part of this country. There were plenty of adventurous spirits who had served in the Mexican War who were ripe for such an undertaking. Two expeditions had proven absolute failures, but in 1851 Lopez got away with a rather formidable expedition, in spite of the administration's orders to prevent it. Lopez landed on the northern coast, found no encouragement among the people, and started with part of the expedition to the interior, leaving Colonel Crittenden in charge of the remnant on the coast. Lopez was captured and garroted in Havana, September 1, 1851. Crittenden put to sea with his band, but was captured, taken to Havana and, with a part of his company, shot. News of this caused a riot in New Orleans, where the Spanish Consulate was mobbed. There were prosecutions in this country of some of those who aided the expedition, but no one was convicted. At a later date the survivors of the expedition were released.

The acquisition of our Western territory, rich with gold, led to many plans for quick communication. The Nicaraugua Canal was urged, but almost half a century was to pass before it was earnestly undertaken. A transcontinental railway was also proposed, but to most persons such a plan seemed absurd. In 1850 there were only 7,300 miles of railway in the country. There were 151 companies, of which only about a dozen operated over 100 miles, and the longest was the Erie, with a mileage of 301, which was the only one that could be dignified by the title of "trunk line." though it was not yet completed from New York to Buffalo. Not one

of these crossed a mountain range except the Baltimore and Ohio, which was slowly surmounting the Alleghanies. The idea of crossing the Rocky Mountains was considered absurd, but took root and never was abandoned. Some years later land was bought of Mexico, called "the Gadsden Purchase," to give a route to California south of the high ranges of the Rockies, but eventually engineering surmounted all difficulties and the first transcontinental railroad went through the center of the country. It was in 1851 that the Erie Railroad was completed, and it was made the occasion of as much rejoicing as that of the Erie Canal by a previous generation. In fact, the decade from 1850 to 1860 showed enormous increase in railroad construction, often unjustified. Indeed, industrial progress was up to that time almost unparalleled in this decade in spite of stormy politics, and the panic of 1857 only partially checked it.

A significant event of the year was the refusal of the Boston authorities to allow Webster to speak in Faneuil Hall because of his attitude on the Compromises. Hitherto Boston had been slow to sympathize with the anti-slavery sentiment, and many men of high social standing were ostracized for agreeing with William Lloyd Garrison. But now the situation was changed. When a runaway slave who had long lived in Boston was seized to be returned to slavery, a mass meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, and the speech of Charles Sumner on that occasion against the fugitive slave law presently made him a United States Senator. But the spirit of opposition, North and South, soon cooled down, and there was a disposition on both sides to give the Compromise a fair trial, with the result that in the Northern States the

JOHN BROWN'S RAID ON HARPER'S FERRY

Democracy made large gains in local elections, due to Whig dissensions. The visit of Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, in 1851-52, roused the country to a degree of enthusiasm such as it had not felt since Lafayette's famous triumphal procession through the States. Kossuth had failed to free Hungary because of foreign intervention, and he came to this country almost an official guest. His ulterior motive was to get material aid to renew his efforts in Hungary, but he kept this for a long time in the background. He was feasted and fêted in many parts of the country, but when his real mission was disclosed he found personal sympathy, but no material aid, though some remarkable resolutions, offensive to European Nations, were offered in Congress. He left this country personally gratified with the warmth of his reception, but disappointed in his hopes.

When Congress opened, in December, 1851, it was found that the Whigs had but twenty-four members of the Senate as against thirty-three Democrats, three Free Soilers, and two vacancies. In the House the Whigs had dwindled to eighty-eight, while the opposition amounted to 145, of whom five were Free Soilers. Linn Boyd, of Kentucky, was elected Speaker, and a fruitless session followed. Land grants to railways and canals were the most important results of a Congress which had welcomed Kossuth but refused to pass tariff legislation demanded by the Whigs. In fact, most of the thoughts of statesmen of that winter turned toward the Presidential election.

The death of Taylor and the dispute over the Compromises had sadly shattered the Whig party, though the leaders would not believe it. Webster was anxious for the nomination, but Fillmore, after some hesitation,

became a candidate also. This strange situation worked well for General Winfield Scott, who was anxious for the honor. Scott felt that he could carry the country as Taylor had, but in truth there never were two men more opposite in characteristics. Scott had friends among those who felt it best not to nominate any one personally connected with the legislation of 1850.

The Democratic party was in a worse condition, for it was necessary that the successful candidate should receive the support of two-thirds of all the delegates—a rule which had already, in the past, killed off several popular candidates. General Cass was again a candidate. His chief rivals were Senator Douglas, James Buchanan, and ex-Governor Marcy, of New York. When the convention met, June 1, 1852, in Baltimore, a deadlock took place. Cass had a majority, but not two-thirds of the votes and, after four days of ballotting, a dark horse was taken up in the person of General Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, who was nominated with Wm. R. King, of Alabama, President pro tem of the Senate, for Vice-President.

The Whig Convention met a few days later, June 16, 1852, in Baltimore, with the rivalries unsettled. Webster's heart was set on this nomination, and he would not give way to his chief. Though Webster was a man of wide experience and the highest abilities, he could only muster twenty-nine votes on the first ballot, while Fillmore had 133, and Scott 131. In view of this, Fillmore's friends expected Webster to throw his votes for his chief, which would have nominated him, but in vain. Clay had used his influence for Fillmore, which greatly wounded Webster, and the latter stood until the end, hoping to be the Compromise candidate. When, in 1848, Webster was offered the Vice-Presidency with

Taylor, he refused with scorn. Had he accepted it he would have been President on Taylor's death, and might easily have been renominated. Now he was in the fight to the end, and in the end Scott was nominated with Wm. A. Graham, of North Carolina, for Vice-President. This last disappointment broke Webster's heart, and he retired to his home in Massachusetts, where he soon died after advising his friends to vote for Pierce.

Henry Clay, greatest of Whig statesman, most sympathetic and convincing of all our orators, the Nestor of the Whig party, champion of protection, devoted lover of the Union, and political physician for all National ills, died on the 29th of June, 1852, universally lamented. His death was a terrible blow to the Whig party, whose chief leader he had been from its origin. For forty-six years Henry Clay exercised an influence over National affairs seldom equaled, but he ever failed to command the support of the people, who lifted lesser men into the Presidency he so greatly desired.

It is of interest to study the party platforms.* The Democracy planted itself squarely in favor of preserving the Compromises of 1850 inviolate, including the fugitive slave law, and resolved that "the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question in whatever shape or color the attempt may be made." Other planks declared against government aid to internal improvements, against protection or a National bank, that slavery was a State issue, and in favor of the Resolutions of 1798, while the Mexican War was warmly defended. The Whigs were less clear on the slavery question. They were for the Compromises "until time and experience shall determine the necessity of further legisla-

*See Volume "American Statesmen."

tion." This seems harmless enough, but it aroused the greatest opposition in the South because it intimated that the Compromises had not settled everything. Other planks declared in favor of protection and internal improvements by Government aid.

Before long it was seen that Scott was destined to defeat. The Democratic party had chosen a Northern Democrat as its candidate, which was a guarantee that it was anxious to drop the sectional issue. Its platform indorsed the Compromises, which were supposed to be sacred and effective. The South rallied to Pierce, who had been a General in the Mexican War, but who had not been conspicuous. Scott, on the other hand, as the hero of Chapultepec, stumped the country under the guise of an official tour and greatly injured his cause by cheap demagogy. The Free-Soil party was in the field with Hale and Julian as candidates, but so certain were the people that the Compromises had settled all difficulties, and so anxious were they for sectional peace, that Hale's vote of 1852 was only about half what Van Buren received in 1848. The people wanted rest, and looked for it to Pierce and the Compromises. The result was a decision in favor of the Democratic party. In the Electoral College Pierce had 254 votes to Scott's 42. It was the death of the Whig party. The popular vote showed much more favorably to Scott, who received 1,386,578 votes to 1,601,474 for Pierce, 156,149 for Hale, with South Carolina choosing her electors by the Legislature. Thus Pierce had a majority over all, something which has seldom occurred in times of peace since 1840. The Whigs lost votes in the Senate, and the House contained only seventy-one Whigs out of 234 members.

One feature of interest is the fact that during this

campaign first appeared in book form Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which at once achieved great popularity not only as an exposition of slavery, but because of the wit, pathos, and tragedy of the story. The book was not written as a controversial document at all, but as a story, and no one was more surprised than the author at the sudden blame and praise heaped on the book. Indeed, the book has generally been misunderstood. It set forth clearly the mildness of slavery in Kentucky, where it appears almost as a benevolent institution, as well as under the kind masters of the extreme South. But in giving the darker side of the picture the book stirred up North and South alike in different directions. In the North it stirred up those who opposed the fugitive slave law, while in the South the book was put under the ban by many States, possession of it being prohibited by pains and penalties, yet the book was exceedingly popular, and read everywhere in the South, where its merits and defects were best appreciated.

The deaths of Webster and Clay, the overwhelming defeat of Scott, and the acquisition by the Democracy of the administrative and legislative branches of Government were deplored by some of the minority politicians, but in general the Nation was satisfied. A truce had been declared and slavery was to be eliminated from politics. In his inaugural President Pierce renewed his devotion to the Compromises, and hoped that the question was settled. He was an avowed expansionist if territory could honorably be acquired, squinting at Cuba, which was now looked on as affording new slave territory, while he re-stated the Monroe Doctrine in strong terms. For his Cabinet he chose: William R. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of State; James Guthrie,

of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury; Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, Secretary of War; James C. Dobbin, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; Robert McClelland, of Michigan, Secretary of the Interior; James Campbell, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General; Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

Among the leading diplomatic appointments were James Buchanan to England, John Y. Mason to France, Pierre Soulè to Spain, and James Gadsden to Mexico.

The year 1853 was uneventful. There was general prosperity, the slavery issue seemed dead, and abroad we were gaining some honors. One Koszta, formerly a Hungarian, but now claiming American citizenship, was seized by an Austrian brig, in the harbor of Smyrna, on a charge of treason. Captain Ingraham, commanding a United States sloop of war, was in port, and determined to release Koszta. The Austrian commander was made to surrender his prisoner to the neutral French Consul under threat of blowing his ship out of water. This caused angry diplomatic correspondence, but created enthusiasm in this country, and tended to make us more respected abroad. The people were intent on business and commerce. Railways were extended and canal building almost stopped. There was a so-called World's Fair in New York city, which attracted much attention, and was highly creditable to the Nation at that time. Much has been written of the materialism, bigotry, and vulgarity of this period, but much is overdrawn. The Nation was expanding under the stimulus of new forces, the influx of California gold, and the demand for staples, so that there was little time for culture except in the most populous centers.

The House organized (December, 1853), by reëlecting Linn Boyd, of Kentucky, as Speaker. There were

many changes in the House. Among the new members the most prominent was Benton, who had failed to get a sixth reëlection to the Senate. Others were Alfred H. Colquitt, Richard Yates, William H. English, Thomas A. Hendricks, John C. Breckenridge, Israel Washburne, Jr., Nathaniel P. Banks, William M. Tweed, Russell Sage, Gerrit Smith, Reuben E. Fenton, and Galusha A. Grow—all destined to later fame. Most of these are dead, but Grow is now (1899) a member of the House, though he has not served continuously. Many former leaders were missing.

In the Senate there were many changes since 1850. Clay, Calhoun, and Webster were dead. Benton had been defeated, Davis was in the Cabinet, Seward alone remained of the six great leaders of 1850. Among the new Senators were James A. Bayard, of the family that held the place for nearly a century; John M. Clayton, who returned after his brief service in Taylor's Cabinet; Toombs, who was promoted from the House; Judah P. Benjamin, who was to make his greatest fame as a British lawyer; Charles Sumner, Edward Everett, Hamilton Fish, and Benjamin F. Wade. Atchison was elected President pro tem., King being already dead.

This new Congress contained many strong men, but it could not compare with the intellectual giants of 1850. The President's Message contained little of special importance. There was apparently nothing at home or abroad to disturb the serenity of the administration. This was not to last. Early in January, 1854, Douglas reported a bill from the Committee on Territories, that reopened the whole slavery question with renewed intensity, and for seven years there was a growing division between the North and South, which ended in the Civil War. The bill, which on its face was innocent enough,

provided simply for organizing the Territory of Nebraska, including what are now half a dozen States. This was necessary, because the Government had made large purchases of Indian lands west of the Missouri and settlers were flocking in. Also through this territory passed one of the great trails to California. What caused the excitement was a provision of the bill that, when admitted as a State, Nebraska should have slavery or not, as her inhabitants chose. This language was exactly that of the Compromises in 1850, in regard to Utah and New Mexico. Douglas understood, as did many others, principally Southern men, that this proviso was to extend to all new territories. The Northern anti-extension Senators, as a rule, violently objected to this view. The Nebraska territory was part of the Louisiana purchase, and the Missouri Compromise had devoted to freedom all north of 36 deg. 30 min., with the exception of Missouri. The proposition of Douglas meant a repeal of this Compromise and opened up all the undeveloped Northwest to the possibilities of slavery. The intensity of feeling which followed can hardly be appreciated in this day. The North was aflame, and the South soon followed. It was a strange sequel to the Compromises of 1850, which were to settle all slavery agitation, that the question of interpretation made the situation worse than before. That there was a lack of the serenity of four years previous was shown by party caucuses, consultations with the President, and personal agitation among the Senators. So great was the excitement that Douglas came forward with a new compromise. He introduced a new bill, organizing two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, with the same provision as to slavery, called "popular sovereignty," except that the territorial Legislatures should temporarily decide the status of

slavery, and distinctly repealing the Missouri Compromise Act. The compromise involved in this Act, though not expressed in terms, was that Kansas would become a slave State, and Nebraska would become a free State, as the latter would, under any circumstances, since it was north of the line where slavery was profitable. Kansas was also, though this was not believed then. This made the situation worse than ever. In vain did Douglas and others protest that this was merely carrying out the spirit of the Compromises of 1850. The opposition was aroused. It declared that this was new legislation in violation of the Compromises of 1850, which did not contemplate disturbing the Missouri Compromise. The whole question was reopened with more bitterness than ever, and all the Nestors of the Senate were gone. The press of North and South became violent. There were indignation meetings in both sections. Nothing proves more conclusively that the situation in 1850 or 1854 could not have been settled by legislation than the fact that North and South looked at the subject from different standpoints, and could not agree even on the meaning of words. Even Pierce, whose party was pledged not to reopen slavery agitation in any way whatever, looked upon the new bill with approval. He was for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which certainly "agitated" politics a great deal. Each side accused the other of doing all the agitating, and undoubtedly all Senators believed they were sincere. The debate in the Senate was no longer dignified. At times it was angry and tumultuous. Seward, Chase, and Sumner led the free soil forces, but it was soon evident that they were in a small minority. The spirit of Compromise was in the air, and on March 3, the Senate passed the bill by a vote of 37 to 14. Bell, of Tennessee,

and Houston, of Texas, were the only Southern Senators to vote in the negative. It was Seward who raised the last protest and warned the Senate that a contest for freedom would take place in Kansas, and called on God to aid the cause that was just.

In the House a similar bill had already been debated. When the Senate bill reached the House it was sent to the Committee of the Whole, instead of to the usual committee, by a vote of 110 to 95. This was against the interests of the measure, and showed how the party was dividing on the slavery question. Though the Democrats were in a large majority, they could muster but ninety-five votes for an avowed administration measure. The struggle that ensued was one of the bitterest in our history up to that time. But on May 22, the bill was passed, with an amendment, by a vote of 113 to 100. The Senate accepted the amendment, and the bill became a law May 30, 1854. Congress accomplished little else, so bitter was the feeling over the slavery question. The President vetoed a bill for internal improvements, on constitutional grounds, and Congress adjourned in August.

In the North the execution of the fugitive slave law had caused renewed excitement. There were comparatively few cases altogether, and few, where the negro apprehended was not a fugitive, and returnable under the Constitution and the laws. The new law put all the machinery in the hands of the United States Courts, whose marshals were obliged to aid those in search of slaves, and could call on a posse comitatus. In several instances, notably at Boston, Cincinnati, and Cleveland, the capture of runaway slaves was attended with great excitement. Instead of assisting the officers the people rose en masse and aided the negroes to escape in de-

fiance of the law. While the excitement in the North was intense over these captures, it was more so in the South, where the deliberate violation of the law by whole communities stirred up sectional feeling, the more so because slavery was being denounced as a moral wrong. Webster had declared that if the North should not obey the fugitive slave law the National compact could be dissolved. Nothing angered the slaveholder so much as the charge that slavery was wrong and slaveholding immoral. There were many slaveholders who, like Benton, believed slavery to be wrong, but did not know what to do about it. Many young men in the South inherited plantations with slaves and settled down to be planters, because they would not sell off their family slaves, when they would have preferred going to California or elsewhere. Slavery was not very profitable except on the large plantations, and these were comparatively few. By far the greater majority of slaveholders had five slaves or less, who were an expense rather than profit, and only a small portion of the white population owned any slaves at all. It was, however, an institution with which all were familiar, and most of the people believed in it. While there were many harsh masters, the great majority were not so, and the institution was less brutal from a physical point of view than was believed in the North after the agitation was renewed. It was none the less an evil. In the North many States passed personal liberty acts to make the execution of the fugitive slave law as difficult as possible, and some Southern States retaliated with unwise legislation, one putting a price on Seward's head.

The last slave carried from Massachusetts soil was one John Burns, in this year (1854). Every legal effort was made in Boston to secure his release; an attempt

was made to rescue him, and when he was returned South the day was made memorable by the closing of stores and draping the leading buildings in mourning, while a long funeral procession followed Burns to the wharf, where he embarked for the South. This was the same Boston where a few years before it meant social ostracism to be a friend of Garrison. Burns' master was a kind-hearted man, who wanted simply to make a test case, and sold him his freedom when a public subscription had raised the money. Burns then returned to the North.

Expansion of territory was a favorite idea at this time, particularly in the South, where Cuba was looked upon with longing eyes. Indeed since the days of Thomas Jefferson the desirability of acquiring the island has been general. Its strategic position in the Gulf, its nearness to the United States, and its rich soil have caused many of our people to look on it with longing eyes. When President Pierce announced himself as not opposed to expansion of territory he had Cuba in view. Pierre Soulé, of Louisiana, one of the most accomplished of our statesmen, was sent as Minister to Madrid to see if the matter could be arranged diplomatically, but met with no success, as will hereafter appear.

Actual expansion began by the purchase of the little strip to the south of New Mexico and Arizona, from Mexico, for the railway, as already stated. Our Minister at Mexico, Mr. Gadsden, arranged for the purchase of a much larger tract, but for once Congress was skittish. As it appeared that there was little but cactus on its sandy soil, the amount was cut down about one-half, as well as the purchase price. We got some 20,000,000 acres for $10,000,000. This, in April, 1854, was the last

accession of territory until 1898, with the exception of Alaska.

Our foreign relations were friendly, except for temporary troubles with Mexico, and more important ones with Spain on account of Cuban filibustering. In spite of the fate of Lopez filibustering was carried on. One William Walker made a descent on Lower California, captured the Governor, and tried to set up a government, but he had to retreat, and turned his mind to more ambitious schemes in Central America. In 1853 Commodore Perry made a treaty with Japan which gave us commercial advantages, and promised protection to our shipwrecked seamen. This first opening of Japanese ports had important consequences to the world.

While there was peace with our neighbors, at home there was a convulsion in politics. The Kansas-Nebraska bill created a furore in politics, and brought about changes that affected all political parties. This bill, so far from settling anything, reopened the whole slavery question, and now many persons who had held aloof took sides on the matter.

In the meantime silently had grown up an organization that was destined to take a leading part in politics. The Native-American, or Know-Nothing, party is one of the most remarkable in our history. This secret society was organized as a protest against the growing influence of foreign born citizens in politics, and against the Roman Catholic Church, which was most violently assailed. Members of the Society were sworn to secrecy, and to all questions about the order the reply was, "I don't know." Hence the nickname given the organization. Members were sworn not to support foreigners nor Roman Catholics for office. The order grew

rapidly, and its first entrance into politics was a complete surprise to those outside of it. It was greatly aided by the breaking up of the Whig party, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the growing discontent over the failure of the Compromises. Into this order were fused men of many former political affiliations. Though originally the idea was to confine operations largely to local politics, it soon became National.

When the elections of 1854 were over there were many surprises. The Know-Nothings had swept Massachusetts, though they had made no open campaign. With their aid the Whigs carried New York, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. There were many State and local surprises, particularly in the West, where nearly every State was carried by the anti-Nebraskans. The House of Representatives elected, was opposed to the President on the slavery issue, though it was hard to classify it on party lines. There was a majority opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, but not united on any other political issue. When the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed it was generally believed in the South, that Kansas would be a slave territory and eventually a slave State, while Nebraska would be free. This was a new compromise to preserve the equilibrium of States as far as possible. Northern people were not disposed to concede this, and a struggle for political control at once began, which brought on the Border Warfare and furnished the chief excitement in politics for some years.

The people of Missouri were greatly interested in making Kansas a slave State. Under advice of acting Vice-President Atchison, thousands of Missourians went across into Kansas, in November, voted at all polling places for Whitfield, the slavery candidate, for Congressional delegate, elected him, and then returned home.

This immediately caused the wildest excitement in the North; and thereafter immigrants to Kansas went armed with rifles or "Beecher's Bibles," as they were called. The principal agent of the Northern emigrants was Eli Thayer, who organized the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, with the avowed purpose of peopling Kansas with anti-slavery settlers. Considerable money was raised, but the movement fell short of expectations, though it caused intense excitement in the South, which tried the same plan with less success. The fertile lands of Kansas drew thousands of people, particularly from the North, and in the spring of 1855 there was a considerable actual resident population, mostly free-soilers. The first Governor was Andrew H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, not an anti-slavery man at heart, but an honest one. When the spring election was held, March 30, for members of the territorial Legislature, which should settle the status of slavery, the Missourians, called "Border Ruffians," once more came over, and by violence and fraud elected most of the pro-slavery members, though a majority of the legal voters were opposed to slavery. Their claim was that Missouri was interested vitally in making Kansas a slave State, that Missourians had as good a right to vote as the new settlers who, they claimed, had come merely to prevent slavery, intending to return East. In this they were aided by the direct advice of acting Vice-President, Senator Atchison, of Missouri.

Governor Reeder started out to right the matter. Unfortunately many of the defeated candidates had not contested the election, and so lost by default. In the regularly contested cases Reeder unseated the slavery men where it was clear that they were chosen by fraud, and Free-State men were chosen at special elections.

The Legislature soon upset this by throwing out all but one of the Free-State men, and the latter resigned. The Legislature passed some remarkable laws, designed to foster slavery, and provided for a convention to form a constitution. Reeder came into conflict with this Legislature, which ran rough-shod over him. He appealed to the President for support, but did not get it. The President was greatly troubled. The elections had gone against him, and politics was getting more bitter all the time. He thought it was part of an understood bargain that Kansas should be a slave State, refused to support Reeder, and finally removed him, on a trumped up charge of speculating in Indian lands.

The Free-State men, led by Charles Robinson, now utterly repudiated the Legislature, held a convention of their own at Topeka, adopted a constitution, ratified it, and elected ex-Governor Reeder to Congress, for he was now an out-and-out Free-Soiler. But the regular Congressional delegate election was held on a different day, and the Missourians, coming over again, reëlected Whitfield, a pro-slavery man. Neither delegate got his seat. Wilson Shannon, the new Governor, was from Ohio, and hoped to settle the controversy. The regular Legislature met at Shawnee Mission, while the headquarters of the Free-State men were at Topeka. The latter had no legal standing, but hoped Congress would indorse their actions. This proved a difficult task, for both sides were determined to carry their point, if necessary, by force. Thus matters stood when Congress assembled in December, 1855.

At the outset Shannon was convinced that the regular faction controlling the Legislature was the only one to be considered, as it alone had any claim to legality. Though the Free-State residents were evidently in the

majority, he did not look upon them with respect, because of their revolutionary methods. The Free-State men had not only adopted a Constitution, but had elected Charles Robinson as Governor. This was without legal warrant, and was roundly denounced by the President, who had not a word to say about the "border ruffians." A general warfare now set in, and several hundred persons were killed or wounded before the struggle ended. There were outrages on both sides. One Lecompte was Chief Justice of the territory, and he proceeded against the Revolutionists with vigor, charging them with treason. The army was called on and dispersed the Topeka or Free-State Legislature, and Reeder, with other Free-State men, was indicted for treason. Governor Shannon soon found himself in hot water. He would not approve of the legal Legislature's nor of the Free-State men's acts, so after making a temporary truce between the warring factions, he resigned—the second failure of the administration in governing the territory. To succeed him the President appointed John W. Geary, a Pennsylvanian, destined to later fame, who, in September, succeeded Shannon. His gospel was peace, but he found this difficult to bring about when men on both sides were bitter to a degree, and ready to fight for their opinions without too fine legal discriminations. Geary's chief act was to get the President to remove Chief Justice Lecompte, who had shown a partiality for the slavery side of the question that three Democratic Governors could not stand. By the aid of the regular army Geary succeeded in restoring comparative order, but he soon found that he could not run matters to suit himself, so he resigned to go out with Pierce —the third Democratic Governor to fail in a project that was dear to the heart of the administration.

When Congress met in December, 1855 (to go back a little), Nathaniel P. Banks, an anti-Nebraska man, was elected Speaker after a long contest. He also was a plurality Speaker, receiving 103 votes to 100 for Aiken (Dem.), and 11 scattering. This put the administration at a disadvantage, and made partisan legislation almost impossible. An attempt was again made to turn attention to Cuba so as to put down the Kansas agitation. The Central American question was also kept alive. In 1854, our Minister Borland claimed to have been insulted at San Juan or Greytown, in Nicaragua, and, not succeeding in getting an apology, Commander Hollins, of the United States ship Cyane, was sent to demand redress. On July 13, he opened on the town, which was soon destroyed. This piece of bullying was not to our National credit.

But it was toward Cuba that Southern eyes were turned, when an incident occurred that, under some circumstances, might have given us Cuba. Since the Lopez incident the Spanish officials had been bitter toward Americans, and spite was soon wreaked on the captain of the Black Warrior, a merchant vessel which plied between New Orleans and New York. The vessel stopped at Havana each way for passengers only, and hence, as a convenience, the captain always entered and cleared "in ballast." This was in violation of the rules of the port, but had long been winked at. One day, in 1854, the port officers at Havana, concluded to stop winking. When the Black Warrior as usual entered "in ballast," the officials came on board, discovered a large amount of cotton, which was seized, and the captain was fined, though he offered in vain, as was his privilege, to amend his manifest. Rather than submit to this the captain hauled down his flag, surrendered his ship, and

went to Washington, where his company filed a complaint. At first it looked like a promising issue, but Northern sentiment was against it. In 1852 Great Britain and France had asked the United States to join in confirming Cuba forever in the possession of Spain, but this country refused, and the hurt was not forgotten by Spain. If there had been no other issue involving slavery this incident might have reached great proportions, backed by a sentiment as unanimous as that which defended the Hulsemann Letter and the action in the Koszta case. There was intense excitement over this affair, but sentiment in the North did not favor making it an issue. There the people were so worked up over the Kansas-Nebraska question that they were in no mood for a war with Spain to gain Cuba. The President and his cool-headed Secretary of State knew this, and Soulé was instructed to demand an apology from the Madrid Government, but not to make an issue of it until further instructions. Soulé, however, thought he saw his opportunity, and went much further than his instructions. He made an abrupt demand for an apology, within a given time, and threatened a rupture. The Spanish Government refused on the plea of lack of information. Soulé referred the matter to the State Department, but, getting no backing, resigned. Before he went home there was a meeting of the American Ministers to Great Britain, France, and Spain, being Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé. These met in Belgium, and issued the so-called "Ostend Manifesto." This document alleged that Cuba, of right and necessity, should belong to the United States, and, if Spain would not sell the island, it should be taken from her by force. Nothing came of this document, as domestic matters at home occupied the attention of the people. France, England,

and Russia were now concerned in the Crimean War, and if there had been domestic tranquillity, Cuba might have been seized without foreign intervention. In trying to get Kansas and Cuba at the same time the pro-slavery people made a tactical mistake. Spain settled with the owners of the Black Warrior and the incident was closed.

William Walker had now started out on a new filibustering career. He looked upon Nicaragua as desirable territory for the United States. In 1855 he landed with an expedition, and for a time was successful. He was the real ruler of the country, and at one time appeared to be secure in power. After several expeditions and many vicissitudes, however, he was defeated and shot; our own Government refusing to go to his aid, though the administration was distressed at one time because a zealous naval officer broke up one of the expeditions. The administration would have been glad had Walker succeeded, but it dared not give him any official countenance.

The year 1856 was an exciting one in politics. In May Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, delivered a two days' speech against slavery, which he had carefully prepared. Some friends asked him to eliminate a few personalities, but he refused. He attacked Senator Butler, of South Carolina, not only on political grounds, but as to personal habits. It was the most bitter personal attack in the history of the Senate, and a shock to the older members, who preserved the ancient traditions. Butler was not present when this speech was made, and Sumner's friends were by no means pleased at this extraordinary action. Butler's nephew, Preston Brooks, a member of the House, determined to punish Sumner. Going into the Senate chamber one day, after adjourn-

ment, he attacked Sumner, who was seated at his desk, with a cane, and gave him a terrible beating, from which he never fully recovered. This action caused intense excitement everywhere, and Sumner's indiscretions of speech were lost sight of in horror over the assault upon him. Officially no action was taken, but Brooks resigned, was reëlected almost without opposition, and was the recipient of numerous canes and other testimonials from Southern friends, who thought he had upheld the cause of slavery. Brooks, however, seems to have regretted his conduct, for he had the instincts of a gentleman, and had acted under excitement and strong provocation. He and Butler died in about a year. The assault on Sumner added fuel to the flames of anti-slavery in the North, where the personal nature of the quarrel was overlooked, and Senator Sumner was looked on as the especial champion and martyr of freedom. It was several years before he was able to take his seat again.

Kansas once more came into public notice. The leaders of the Free-State party, as has been said, were indicted for treason. Reeder was held prisoner, and their town Lawrence was attacked by a mob, looted, and some of the buildings burned. Matters were now so strained that the House of Representatives sent out a special committee of three to investigate. The majority sustained the Free-State men's side of the controversy, but a minority report dwelt on the outrages committed by Robinson's followers. An attempt was then made to admit Kansas as a State under the Topeka or Free-Soil constitution. The House passed the bill, and the Senate refused it, offering a plan of its own. In consequence there was no legislation, and the troubles continued. An extra session was necessary to pass the army bill, which

had failed to pass because the House wanted some Kansas legislation tacked onto it, whereby the army could not be used to put down the Free-State men.

The political campaign of 1856 was an exciting one. The Whig party was now buried, and out of the changes in politics of the past four years had grown up the Republican party, which was avowedly opposed to slavery extension. The party was composed of men of all kinds of former political affiliation, united on this one issue. The National convention met in Philadelphia, June 17, 1856. John C. Frémont, "the pathfinder" of California, was nominated for President, and William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, for Vice-President. The platform declared that Congress should prohibit slavery in the territories, should admit Kansas as a free State, and denounced the Ostend manifesto. Kansas' troubles were harped on by Republicans in the campaign, but, in truth, that subject had become rather stale, and "Bleeding Kansas" failed as a watchword because it was found out that the outrages were not all on one side. The Northern emigrants went to Kansas armed and looking for trouble, which they usually found. The fact that the Democratic candidate was a Northern man rather took off the edge of the Kansas troubles, for it was believed that the worst was over now that the free State settlers were in a large majority, and the Missourians came over the border no more.

The Native Americans, or Know-Nothings, in secret session, nominated Millard Fillmore and Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee. The slavery question was almost ignored, and the principal plank in the platform was America for Americans. The Democratic convention met at Cincinnati, June 2, and indorsed the President's policy, the Kansas-Nebraska Act and territorial

expansion, but it did not renominate Pierce. Douglas was again a candidate, but was killed off by the two-thirds' rule. The President's Minister to England, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was nominated on the sixteenth ballot, with John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. In the campaign which followed, slavery extension was the main issue, and was discussed in all its phases, but a reaction from the excitement of 1854 had set in. Buchanan was elected by an electoral vote of 174 to 114 for Frémont, and 8 for Fillmore, who carried Maryland only. The popular vote was as follows: Buchanan, 1,838,169; Frémont, 1,341,-264; Fillmore, 874,534. The vote in several large States was so close that the change of a few thousand votes would have elected Frémont.

Buchanan had long been in public life, was a man of upright character and conservative views. He commanded the support of many people, personally opposed to slavery extension, who believed that his experience and wisdom were needed at this time to prevent sectional animosity from spreading. The short session of Congress was partly occupied with Kansas matters, but nothing was done. A new tariff bill was passed, which raised some rates and lowered others.

In spite of the fact that Buchanan was a Northern man, and of conservative views, his election did not satisfy either the slavery or the anti-slavery element. The friends of slavery extension felt that their victory was a barren one, as Buchanan was, in a large minority, on the popular vote. Minnesota had been admitted as a free State and Oregon was soon to follow, but there were no slave territories to offset these. It was a firm conviction of the pro-slavery men that there must be an equal number of free and slave States.

That slavery must sooner or later have been eradicated is certain, but that it required a Civil War to do it is disputed by many. Certain it is that slavery leaders, no matter how intense their feelings or how honest their convictions, were unfortunate in leadership. These leaders constantly forced issues, which made matters worse for their own contention. From the day the Compromises of 1850 were signed there was a continuous series of false moves. This may by some be accounted for by the fact that their whole basis was wrong. The slave propagandists thought the North wanted to free all the slaves. Up to 1864 such an issue would probably not have carried a single State.

Almost coincident with Buchanan's inauguration came the famous Dred Scott decision. It is impossible in this day to appreciate the excitement which this caused. Buchanan had referred incidentally, in his inaugural address, to the fact that the decision was coming, which led many wrongfully to suppose he was aware of its nature. Dred Scott and family were slaves of an army officer in the South, who was detailed to posts in Illinois and Minnesota, which were free-soil under their constitutions. Coming back to Missouri, Dred Scott claimed to be a free man, as he had been living on free soil. This involved a great principle, and there were found men ready to sustain Scott and pay the expense of a long law suit. Finally, on an appeal from the District Court, this reached the Supreme Court of the United States on a technicality, which was called upon to decide simply the question whether Dred Scott was an American citizen and entitled to appear in a Federal court at all. This question was settled in the negative. If it had done no more the decision would

have attracted little attention. But the court did a great deal more. It undertook to discuss the whole slavery question and settle its status forever. At that time the Supreme Court stood higher in public respect than it ever has since. Chief Justice Taney was a man of high legal attainments and unquestioned integrity. It is reported that he was anxious to do his country a service by settling questions concerning which the Legislature and administrative branches of Government had failed. It is also said that he was stimulated to do this by the fact that one of his colleagues was to write a dissenting opinion. At any rate the Dred Scott decision outside of the single point at issue, was really a political document. It contained these three principal contentions:

1. The Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, as slavery is by the Constitution a National institution not to be limited in Federal territory.

2. Once a slave always a slave, unless freed by the master.

3. The inferiority of the negro race was such that popularly so far back as 1788, the negro had "no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

This was a bitter pill for the anti-slavery people to swallow. The dissenting opinion of Justice McLean pointed out that these contentions were not true in fact or in law. This decision became a powerful issue in politics. As for Scott and his family, they eventually gained freedom.

Buchanan's Cabinet was as follows: Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John B. Floyd, of Virginia, Secretary of War; Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi,

Secretary of the Interior; Aaron V. Brown, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General.

This was one of the weakest Cabinets on record. Cass was in his dotage and Black was the only strong man of the lot. An important appointment was that of Robert J. Walker, to be Governor of Kansas. Walker had been Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, and his selection for Kansas showed how serious was the issue. He guaranteed a fair election for the Legislature, and the Free State men won, as the "Border Ruffians" were kept out. In the meantime a pro-slavery constitutional convention had met at Lecompton and drew up a remarkable constitution, providing for slavery and a good many other things obnoxious to the Free State men. The administration was committed to permit the people to vote on the constitution, but the convention avoided this by a trick. Knowing that it could not be adopted as a whole, it only allowed the people to vote on whether they would accept the Constitution "with slavery" or "without slavery," no opportunity being given to vote against it as a whole. The Free State men refused to vote at all and the Constitution was adopted "with slavery."

The fall of 1857 is ever memorable for the financial crisis that took place. This was the result of a bad currency system, wild speculation and over construction of railways. At this time each State regulated its banking system, and in some the laws were imperfect or improperly executed. The notes of most of these banks declined in value as they got away from the place of issue. In general Eastern banks were sounder than those in the West and South, but there were poor ones in the East. This caused great inconvenience in business, for merchants were often paid in inferior currency, while trav-

elers had great difficulty in getting the various bills accepted. Every merchant had a counterfeit detector and a table showing the value of the notes of most of the banks, and business was conducted accordingly. The impetus caused by the discovery of gold in California stimulated trade and also speculation. Unfortunately most of the gold went to Europe. There was a craze for building railways. Some were built extravagantly; some were built which manifestly could not pay expenses; but railroads were considered a sort of Aladdin's lamp, that would bring immediate prosperity to every community that was on the route. This stimulated speculation in land and prices rose rapidly, but the lands and town lots were usually covered with mortgages. The crisis came in the fall of 1857, and the bricks fell fast. Hundreds of banks went to the wall, merchants failed, railroads went into bankruptcy, and the ruin of the country seemed complete. It was a hard winter for the poorer classes, as many were thrown out of employment, but the enormous resources of the country soon improved conditions, so that the recovery was far more rapid than seemed possible at first, and much more rapidly than in years before.

The whole of Buchanan's administration was taken up with the struggle over slavery. The President was determined that Kansas should be admitted as a slave State under the Lecompton constitution. The Senate passed the bill, though Douglas vigorously opposed it, because the people of Kansas had not had a chance to vote on the Constitution as a whole. The House rejected this bill and passed one of its own. Finally, as a compromise, a bill known as Lecompton, Jr., was passed, allowing Kansas to come in under the Lecompton constitution if the voters so decided, and offering the State

large grants of land. But the Kansas people refused the terms by a large majority. Eventually a new Constitution was adopted at Wyandotte, but the State was not admitted until just before the Civil War.

Southern men were anxious to secure Cuba, Nicaraugua, and all or a part of Mexico, so that the balance between free and slave States could be kept up. There was also a desire to reopen the slave trade on the ground that the natural increase in this country was not sufficient. The main theoretical question was whether slavery was a National or local institution. According to the Dred Scott decision it was National, but many refused to abide by that decision. All efforts at getting territory failed. Walker was killed in Nicaraugua after he had set up a Government, Spain would not listen to any offer for Cuba, while an effort to take advantage of the revolutionary state of affairs in Mexico failed, because the Senate in 1860 would not ratify the treaty. There was no legislation possible on the slavery question, as the Senate and House were opposed to each other on the subject.

One event caused much excitement for a time. Fillmore had commissioned Brigham Young as Governor of Utah, and Buchanan appointed a new man from the East. Young refused to give up office and threatened resistance. Force was actually used, but General Johnston was sent with an army which made resistance impossible, and a compromise was effected by which the new Governor was recognized, and the army withdrew from Salt Lake City. There existed great prejudice in the East against the Mormons both on account of polygamy and the alleged outrages committed by some of them on emigrants. At Mountain Meadow a large number of emigrants to California were foully murdered,

and it was years before the offenders were brought to justice.

The elections in 1858 showed that political sectionalism was rising and driving North and South sharply. There were Democratic gains in the South and Republican gains in the North. The Native Americans, who called themselves "Southern Americans," formed the remnant of the Whig party in the South, but they were losing ground.

An interesting contest this year, because of its personnel, was that between Senator Douglas and Abraham Lincoln for the Senatorship in Illinois. According to the custom in this State, party conventions named candidates for the Senate, to which the Legislators of each party adhered. Douglas had the advantage of occupying the seat and was backed by powerful influences. Moreover, his stand on the Lecompton constitution question had made him many friends among anti-slavery people. He had a further advantage in the fact that the holding-over State Senators were largely of his own faith. Abraham Lincoln was practicing law and had become a leader at the bar. He was ambitious for the Senatorship, which he wanted in 1854, when Trumbull was elected. By arrangement a series of joint debates was held, at which questions at issue were discussed. Douglas was the better stump speaker. He could appeal to an audience with great tact and keep them in good humor. Much of his speeches was devoted to ridicule, while he attempted to brush the slavery issue aside, saying he did not care whether slavery was voted up or down in a territory so long as the people had a chance to vote on it. Lincoln, on the other hand, was always serious, often melancholy, and discussed the whole slavery issue in detail, claiming that slavery was

wrong and must not be extended, and that Douglas ought to care whether it was voted up or down. It was agreed that each of the candidates should prepare questions which his opponent must publicly answer. Lincoln answered those put to him frankly. He was not in favor of sumptuary legislation against slavery, but he was opposed to its extension. In return he asked Douglas a question, the answer to which was the turning point in the latter's career. Douglas had posed as the champion of popular sovereignty, holding that slavery was a local and not a National issue. Lincoln asked Douglas a question which was to put him on record as to whether or not he agreed with the Dred Scott decision, that slavery was a National institution, and by right existed in all the National territory, and must be upheld in spite of local views, though this was not its exact form. This put Douglas in a corner. He could not say "yes," for his record was on the other side. If he said "no" it would injure his political future. Therefore he made the ingenious reply that the theory was not worth discussing because as a matter of fact slavery could only be maintained by police regulations, and if the local Legislature in any territory was opposed to slavery it could by "unfriendly legislation" prevent its introduction. This is what is known as the "Freeport Doctrine," from the name of the town in which he announced it. The answer pleased the audience and no doubt contributed materially to Douglas' success, for he was reëlected. The Republicans carried the State on the popular vote, but, owing to the way the districts were formed, lost even the lower House of the Legislature. The fall elections showed that the administration was not being supported, even Pennsylvania going Republican.

During 1859 the people were busy recovering from

the effects of the panic, while the politicians were discussing not only slavery and the Presidency, but the state of the Union. The admission of Oregon as a State had still further disturbed the equilibrium between free and slave States. New Mexico, it was evident, had not population enough for a State, and there was nothing there for slaves to do with profit, so that about twenty personal servants constituted the whole slave population. Kansas was determined not to have slavery, and no foreign territory was available. Indeed but a handful of slaves were ever held there in spite of the efforts of the pro-slavery men.

It is easy to imagine that when every one in the country was more or less wrought up over the slavery issue, the John Brown raid made a sensation almost unparalleled. John Brown was a crack-brained, albeit shrewd, man, who felt himself called to be the instrument that was to destroy slavery. He went early to Kansas, and with some followers foully murdered inoffensive pro-slavery men in the Pottawatamie Valley. Escaping, he went East and tried, with some success, to interest anti-slavery people in a scheme to raise a revolt among the slaves, and by arms destroy the institution he hated. There never was a wilder scheme proposed by man, but Brown proceeded to carry it out. On the night of October 16, 1859, with some twenty-two men, he descended from the Pennsylvania hills upon Harper's Ferry, captured the town, took some of the leading men prisoners, and raised the standard of revolt among the slaves. By daylight the town was aroused and help sent for, and Brown retreated to the Baltimore and Ohio roundhouse, where, on the night of the 17th, with his little band, he fought desperately for hours, finally to be overpowered by Colonel Robert E. Lee with a de-

tachment of marines, after losing two sons and several others of his followers, besides being wounded himself. Brown's movement failed completely as a military enterprise. The slaves would not rise and never intended to do so. If the negroes had been of that nature they would never have been kept in slavery. The feeble attempt of a man who, while not crazy, was little less, alarmed the South. It was feared that Brown had many accomplices, and that the Harper's Ferry raid was but an incident in a vast conspiracy that was to upset slavery and destroy the South. These fears were not unnatural, but they were groundless. Brown's only confidants were a few men who had listened to him, almost none of whom approved his plans, but who were now greatly alarmed for fear of being accused of complicity. Gerrit Smith, the famous anti-slavery man, a friend of Brown, temporarily lost his reason from alarm.

Brown was tried and convicted of treason. He met his death calmly, as a philosopher. During his confinement in jail he seemed to regain his mental balance. He openly avowed his deed and spoke of it in such a way that Senator Mason, of Virginia, was moved at his sincerity.

This raid became injected into politics, and made matters worse. There were conservative men everywhere who were praying for national harmony and party union, but as the months passed away there were found to be irreconcilable difficulties. The Democratic party, which had so long been in power, was split in twain over the question as to whether slavery was a national or local institution. It is worthy of note that the division on this question was almost entirely sectional, indicating the honesty of convictions on both sides, which were dominated largely by local surround-

ings. It would be unjust to suppose that men in either section were not equally as honest in their convictions as to slavery as they were years later on the silver question. Among those who were foremost in the cause of abolition, aside from those already mentioned, were Whittier, the poet; Emerson, the philosopher, and Beecher, the orator and clergyman.

When Congress met in December, 1859, another long contest for the Speakership took place. There were 109 Republicans, 101 Democrats, and 27 Americans, principally former Whigs from the South. John Sherman was the Republican candidate, and failed of election because he had indorsed, though without reading, a book entitled "The Impending Crisis," by Hinton Rowan Helper, a Southern man, who attacked slavery not only on moral, but economic grounds, holding that the South would never prosper so long as slavery existed. Some of his language was abusive, and the book was detested in the South more than "Uncle Tom's Cabin," because it was by a Southerner, and because it could not be answered. Pennington, of New Jersey, was finally chosen. He was a conservative Republican. The contest lasted until January 30, and was full of rancor. Many members went armed, and personal combats were often imminent.

The Democratic Convention met in Charleston in April, 1860. It was composed of leading men of the party, and there was the most sincere desire to effect a compromise which would save the party and prevent any steps of disunion. The most radical men from the South were as anxious as the men from New England to reconcile differences, but it was impossible. The two-thirds rule made it necessary for the winning candidate to get many votes from both sections, but the

sections were nearly solidly opposed to each other on the issue. The Committee on Resolutions reported a platform embodying the views of the radical Southern men, but the Convention, instead, adopted a minority report, which was drawn in the Douglas interest, which referred all questions of protecting slavery, to the Supreme Court. This split the party. Southern men who had known and loved Douglas could not accept his views nor follow his leadership. That one expression, "unfriendly legislation," at Freeport, had alienated from him the support of most Southern men. A large portion of the Southern delegates to the Convention withdrew, not without a feeling of sadness, and, in cases, of great emotion. The Convention proceeded to ballot, and, while Douglas had a majority of the votes, he could not command the necessary two-thirds. The Convention finally adjourned to meet at Baltimore in June, where, after more withdrawals, Douglas was finally nominated, with Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, for Vice-President.

The Democrats who left the two conventions nominated John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, with Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for second place. The platform was substantially that rejected at Charleston. Slavery was declared a National institution.

Some conservative men of the country, who feared the Union was endangered, formed the Constitutional Union party, whose only platform was the preservation of the Union and execution of the laws, and nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for President, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. This party drew its principal strength from the border slave States, where slavery was practiced and defended, but not considered as the vital issue in politics. The large

vote for Bell in the border States was a strong factor in keeping all but Eastern Virginia from joining the Confederacy.

The Republican party, at Chicago, May 16-18, 1860, nominated Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin on a platform declaring against slavery extension. Lincoln's nomination was a surprise, as Seward had been considered the most likely candidate. But Lincoln had many personal friends in politics, and his debates with Douglas had a profound effect on the country. The nomination at first was not warmly received in the East, but Seward threw himself into the breach, and harmony, with enthusiasm, was restored. The early State elections foreshadowed Lincoln's election, which was confirmed in November. The electoral vote stood: Lincoln, 180; Breckenridge, 72; Bell, 39; Douglas, 12. The popular vote was: Lincoln, 1,866,352; Breckenridge, 845,763; Bell, 589,581; Doulgas, 1,375,157. Total, 4,676,853.

Thus Lincoln was in a large minority on the popular vote, but, on the other hand, Breckenridge, the candidate of the radical Southern wing, was a very bad third in the race, with Bell a much better fourth. The people who declared that equilibrium of slave and free States was essential to the perpetuity of the Republic, turned out to be only about one-sixth of the whole, while exactly one-third of the States gave Lincoln their electoral vote. Congress was, however, divided again, the Senate still being Democratic, and no radical legislation was possible so long as this condition existed.

No sooner was the result known than South Carolina decided on secession, and a convention passed an ordinance (December 20, 1860) repealing the act by which the Federal Constitution had been ratified,

declared its independence, and sent Commissioners to Washington to negotiate a convention as to public property and the like, and asked seven other States to join in the movement, while preparations were speedily made for war.

When Congress met, the ardor of the Republicans was cooled by the news that secession had been undertaken, and was likely to spread. Joy over the election of Lincoln was greatly tempered by anxiety as to the future, and the President's message was awaited with great eagerness, in the hope that he could either give some plan of adjustment or at least outline a policy that would save the Nation's territorial integrity. On the contrary, the message was the most disappointing that this country has ever received. It was a scolding message, practically rebuking the people for electing Lincoln, and, while theoretically declaring against the right of secession, declared also that there was no way to coerce a State that wanted to withdraw. This suited nobody, and there went up a cry from the North, "Oh! for one hour of Andrew Jackson." Is it not strange that the two most determined foes of secession were Jackson and Taylor, Southern men and slaveholders? Is it not strange that the acts of Northern men like Fillmore and Buchanan gave aid and comfort to pro-slavery men, though both were personally loyal to the Union? As the President offered no remedy, Congress started in to see what it could do. Many speeches were made. There was a peculiar mixture of sober earnestness and anger on both sides. The members kept dropping out as their States passed ordinances of secession. But one final effort at compromise was made by the successor of Clay—John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, one of the best of the old-school, Union-loving statesmen. A com-

mittee of thirteen, representing all factions in the Senate, was appointed to see if a remedy could be found. None was found, and the committee so reported, though Seward and Davis worked diligently for a compromise. Crittenden's plan was to have a Constitutional amendment passed, prohibiting Congress from ever abolishing slavery, restoring the Missouri Compromise line, with an eye to future accessions of territory, payment for escaped slaves not returned, and the like. It was too late—the day of compromise had passed. Patriotic men called a Peace Convention at Washington. Delegates appeared from most of the States, and ex-President Tyler presided. It could do no more than Crittenden did. The movement was a failure, and war was certain. In January, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana passed ordinances of secession, while Texas made arrangements to do so in March. All prepared for war. Members of Congress from these States generally retired as the ordinances were passed, and soon the Republicans and Douglas Democrats were in a large majority. Kansas was admitted, and legislation looking toward war was passed, including the Morrill Tariff Bill. An amendment to the Constitution was passed by this Congress, providing that Congress should never abolish slavery, but, the war coming on, it was not acted on by enough States to decide its fate.

Meanwhile, the Cabinet had been reorganized. Cass could not stand Buchanan's logic, and resigned. Cobb, who had been an unsuccessful administrator of the public funds, had already gone, leaving an empty treasury. The next to go was Floyd, who was $870,000 short in his accounts, due to improper favoritism to contractors, though he resigned in feigned high dudgeon because Sumter was to be reinforced without notice to South

Carolina. Black became Secretary of State; Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, Secretary of War; Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General; while Philip F. Thomas, of Maryland, became Secretary of the Treasury. After this reorganization Buchanan was better advised, and acted with more firmness. Buchanan had given the South Carolina Commissioners a purely unofficial reception. They demanded the evacuation of all the forts held by the Federal army. While they were in Washington news came that Major Anderson, in command of the Charleston harbor, had grown uneasy over the military operations of the South Carolina army, which threatened his position in Fort Moultrie, and had removed his men to Fort Sumter, on an island in the harbor, commanding the entire city. In anger the Commissioners at Washington demanded that Anderson be ordered back to Fort Moultrie, but the President refused, and the Commissioners, becoming excitable, and using undignified language, were dismissed. Anderson was in sore straits, and it was soon a question of whether he should be reinforced or ordered away. In January an expedition was sent with men, munitions, and provisions, on "The Star of the West," but Secretary Thompson had given the South Carolina authorities notice, and the vessel was fired on and prevented from reaching Fort Sumter. Finally a truce was patched up for a time, and Sumter was not molested, while Anderson bought provisions in the open market. Secretary Thomas, not proving a success, was succeeded at the Treasury by John A. Dix, of New York, a determined foe of secession, who gained undying fame by his letter to a subordinate, in which he said: "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag,

shoot him on the spot." This was the first strong note the North had heard, and it was joyfully received.

Many people in the South believed that secession would be peacefully accomplished. Many more believed that there would be a brief and glorious war. Jefferson Davis was not one of these. He anticipated a long and bloody war. He retired from the Senate in January, after a most affecting farewell speech, for personally he was very popular. He went to his home, expecting to take up arms in favor of his dogma. A convention representing the six States that claimed to have seceded met at Montgomery, Alabama, drew up a temporary Constitution, and elected Davis President, and Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President. Stephens was one of the last to give in to secession. He argued that it was not yet time for such a step, but he went with his State. Davis at once accepted. The Constitution was largely a copy of the Federal Constitution, except upon the questions of slavery and State Rights. Later a more perfect Constitution was adopted, and Richmond, Virginia, was made the capital. The States of North Carolina, Arkansas, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia finally joined the Confederacy, the Old Dominion being the last to take action, after long hesitation.

Jefferson Davis' first Cabinet was as follows: Robert M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, Secretary of State; Charles Y. Memminger, of South Carolina, Secretary of the Treasury; Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, Secretary of War; Stephen R. Mallory, of Florida, Secretary of the Navy; John H. Reagan, of Texas, Postmaster-General; Thomas H. Watts, of Alabama, Attorney-General. Benjamin soon succeeded Hunter, and his place as Secretary of War was filled by James A. Seddon, of

Virginia. The Confederate Congress soon became an unimportant body, because exigencies of the war made legislation sometimes impossible, and often Mr. Davis was obliged to act almost as a dictator. Most of the leading men went into the army instead of Congress, which had far less power than that of the United States, owing to so many rights being reserved to the States.

Practically nothing was done at Washington to meet this coming storm. General Scott got a few troops into the capital, but the army was being rapidly demoralized by the resignations of Southern officers, and often by companies and regiments following them into the Confederacy. When Lincoln was inaugurated, the only Southern forts held by the Government were Fort Sumter, at Charleston, and Fort Pickens, at Pensacola. It was a trying time in the North. Many still hoped for a compromise. Many believed that it was best to let "the erring sisters go in peace," as Horace Greeley expressed it. Even in the seceding States opinion was far from unanimous; the border States for a time were as one for the Union, and only Virginia, in part, went over to the Confederacy, after long hesitation. In some States the vote was close, and Stephens claimed that Georgia was really opposed to secession. Many leaders claimed that their States only went out in order to get back into the Union on better terms, but war soon put this notion to sleep.

Abraham Lincoln remained quietly at home in Springfield during all the exciting times, doing all he could to allay Southern excitement. He wrote to Stephens to try and convince him that the South had nothing to fear from him so long as it obeyed the laws. It was too late. In consequence much time was taken up in preparing his Cabinet with a view to anticipated

emergencies. Seward was early offered the position of Secretary of State, which he accepted. The rest of the Cabinet was composed of men little known in National politics, with the exception of Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, who took the Treasury. It was a coalition Cabinet, about equally divided between Republicans and former Democrats, and included several of the President's rivals for the nomination. Indiana was given the Interior portfolio in the person of Caleb Smith, which smacked of a convention deal. Edward Bates became Attorney-General; Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General; Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, and Simon Cameron, Secretary of War. At the last minute the slate was nearly smashed. Lincoln, having been asked to change the last name on it, remarked that if broken at all it would be broken at the top. Seward learned this, and wrote, declining to serve, but Lincoln held him to his promise. Many thought that Seward would be the whole administration, and Lincoln had learned enough to make him hesitate a moment. This Cabinet was not settled until the last minute. In the meantime Lincoln had made an extended tour, from Springfield to Washington, speaking in many cities. Some things he said failed to meet popular favor. It seemed as if he were jesting in the face of an awful crisis, and some of his speeches seemed to indicate that there was no crisis at all. No man read the signs of the times more correctly than Lincoln. What he meant was that there was no reason for a crisis; that insofar as it existed or should grow, it was on a false basis, and that the perpetuity of the Union was not in the least affected by the election of a Republican President, insofar as the party intended the invasion of the rights of any persons, party, or section. Reports gaining currency

that there would be an attempt to assassinate him, his tour was cut short, and he reached Washington unannounced and unexpected. Inauguration day passed off without incident. The President spoke earnestly in favor of the Union, and denied that secession was possible, or that any cause for it existed, closing with a glowing appeal for the Union.*

Commissioners purporting to represent the Confederacy now appeared to take up again the Fort Sumter issue. Secretary Seward saw them unofficially, and once informed them that he believed the fort would soon be evacuated. Indeed, the Cabinet had practically agreed to this, when the President changed his mind. Justice of the Supreme Court Campbell, who was about to resign, but waited around to get news, acted as an intermediary, and a dispute arose between him and Seward when the fort was not evacuated. Campbell claimed that Seward made a promise, but the latter said he only expressed an opinion based on the Cabinet decision, which was afterward changed.

The President's greatest anxiety was to save the border States of Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. In this he succeeded after great difficulties and many discouragements, except that Virginia, after once declaring overwhelmingly for the Union, reversed the decision. Only a portion of the State accepted the verdict, and West Virginia was born, and admitted to the Union in 1863. It was at one time believed that North Carolina and Tennessee would refuse to secede, but they finally joined the others, so that eleven States were admitted to the Confederacy. In theory Missouri and Kentucky also belonged, and their representatives sat in the Congress at Richmond, but

*See Volume "American Statesmen."

this was a mere farce. The chaotic condition of the army and navy, due to resignation, desertions, and surrenders, made important military preparations impossible, yet General Scott did his best. In order that Virginia might not feel offended, no troops were placed on her soil until after she had joined the Confederacy, and thus strategic points were lost. The little navy was at that time scattered all over the world, with only about half a dozen vessels near at hand available for use.

As the days passed on, and Anderson did not evacuate Fort Sumter, the South Carolina forces became angry, charged bad faith, and, on April 12, 1861, opened fire on the fort, just as the relieving ships appeared off the bar. Anderson responded, and for two days a hot fire was kept up, during which no one was hurt on either side. Fort Sumter, being only partially completed, suffered severely, the barracks were burned, and salt pork alone left for rations. Under these circumstances Major Anderson surrendered on the 14th, hauled down his flag, and by agreement went North with his command. The effect of this was electrical. It solidified the sections. The North became unanimous, the South likewise, while the border States strove to maintain a neutrality, but were really divided in sentiment. Lincoln at once issued a call for 75,000 volunteers, to serve three months. The first troops to respond were five independent companies from Central Pennsylvania, who rushed to the Capital, and were received by the President with joy. They were placed in the Capitol, for there were many rumors of sudden attack. Next came the Sixth Massachusetts, which was assaulted by a mob in Baltimore. There were four soldiers killed and thirty wounded, while the mob suffered much more heavily. The excitement was intense.

The railway bridges near Baltimore were burned, so that for a time there was no direct communication between Washington and the North. General Butler, with Massachusetts troops, sailed to Annapolis, and, in spite of the Governor's protest, landed and marched to the railway between Baltimore and Washington; then, in the night, he captured Baltimore, and the railway was reopened to the North.

The military history of the Civil War has filled many volumes, and the outlines only can be given here. Kentucky having declared neutrality, no troops for a time were sent to that State, but immediate steps were taken in Missouri, where an army was raised and Federal authority maintained, after the Governor had declared for the Confederacy. General Frémont was in command, but was not entirely satisfactory to the administration, because of some of his sweeping actions, and he was soon relieved. In the center considerable bodies of troops were located in Western Virginia under General George B. McClellan, where the first conflicts of the war took place, and near Harper's Ferry, under General Patterson. The Army of the Potomac was organized at Washington under command of General McDowell.

It took only a few days to enlist the 75,000 men, but it took time to equip them, and few of them saw any active service until they reënlisted under the next call for 300,000 men for three years. To tell the story of the difficulties in getting guns and powder, tents and clothing, and rations, the difficulties in organizing and drilling regiments, would be simply to repeat what has happened in every one of our wars. The South was little better off, except that it began earlier to make preparations, but in equipment it was worse off than

the North. The smooth-bore musket of the Mexican War period was the principal arm, and many of these were converted flint-locks. Floyd made a great virtue of what he had done for the South in selling condemned arms and the like, but it appears he was more anxious to get a good job under the Confederacy than to tell the exact truth. The guns he sold to the South were of little use, and Floyd's boasts were principally bombast, though they were at one time generally believed. He had been a professed Union man almost to the last, and never rose to importance under the Confederacy.

The contest over West Virginia was brief and decisive. Compared with later battles they appear insignificant, but at the time they were thought important. McClellan and Rosecrans, by a series of brilliant maneuvers and sharp attacks, defeated the Confederates at Rich Mountain and Carrick's Ford, took many prisoners, and later on drove them from the State. This made McClellan a hero, and brought him into prominence. In the West, General Lyon, by active work, kept Missouri in the Union and drove the Confederates toward the Southern border. In the center, General Patterson lay with a large army, confronting the Confederates, under General Joseph Johnston. Patterson was to prevent Johnston from joining Beauregard at Manassas, about twenty miles from Washington, where lay the principal part of the Confederate army, under General Beauregard. In the meantime, all was excitement at Washington. There was a ceaseless cry of "On to Richmond," and the pressure from the politicians, the press, and the public to begin offensive operations was so strong that the Administration gave in against the opinion of the army officers, who feared the raw troops would not stand fire. A forward movement was

ordered on Manassas, and Patterson was finally informed that the attack would be made on the 18th, and to look out for Johnston. The attack was delayed until the 21st, and the battle took place along a stream called Bull Run. General Sherman says it was the best planned and worst fought battle of the war. The earlier part of the battle was favorable to the Federals, but the Confederate General, Thomas J. Jackson, made a stout defense, that gained him the name of "Stonewall." Johnston eluded Patterson, and reached the field in time to turn the tide. The Federal troops were repulsed, but it was not a serious defeat, as the reserves could have been brought up and the attack renewed. Instead, a senseless panic followed, and the whole Federal army fled in terror to Washington, leaving its impediments along the route. The Confederates had suffered heavily, and not until they heard of the flight of the Federals did they understand the extent of their victory. However, they made no attack on Washington.

McClellan was now placed in command of all the armies of the United States and in direct command of the Army of the Potomac, and he set about organizing an efficient army, but it did not have a battle of importance for nine months. At one time McClellan wanted to become dictator, and was entirely distrustful of the President.

During the rest of this year the Confederates were driven out of West Virginia and pushed further South in Missouri, though the gallant General Lyon fell at the battle of Wilson's Creek. Frémont was succeeded, in general command of the West, by General Halleck. In command under him, at Cairo, was General U. S. Grant, who had early in the war been appointed Colonel

of an Illinois regiment, and by rapid promotion was now a Brigadier-General. He took possession of Paducah, Kentucky, attacked a Confederate camp at Belmont, Missouri, and captured it, but, being attacked in turn, recrossed the river to Cairo, as the movement was only a diversion to keep reinforcements being sent to the interior to aid General Price, who commanded the Confederates in Missouri. In Virginia the Federals were sharply repulsed in a small engagement at Ball's Bluff. Colonel Baker, a Senator from Oregon, the intimate friend of Lincoln, was killed.

The whole year may be said to have been one of preparation on both sides. Neither side was equipped for war, as the battle of Bull Run showed. After this the cry of "On to Richmond!" died out, and both parties prepared for the struggle. The contest was more equal than would seem at first sight. While the eleven States of the Confederacy had a less population than those which remained in the Union, Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland were practically divided in furnishing troops, so far as individuals were concerned. The North also had the disadvantage of having to invade the South and maintain its line of transportation, which took many men. The North, however, was rich in factories and shops that could turn out muskets and cannon, while in a short time rifles were made in large quantities. The North had resources in men and money far beyond the South, but the cotton industry furnished the latter with an asset which would have offset these advantages if it could have been realized on. This was not the case, except to a limited extent. In April, 1861, President Lincoln declared a blockade of the whole Confederate coast. This was at first a "paper" blockade, as we had few vessels for such a task. New ones were

undertaken, and many merchant vessels were bought and fitted up as well as possible. The first sea capture of the war was a remodeled Hudson River ferry boat. The Confederate privateers did some damage early in the war, but later they retired from active service.

Congress met in special session July 4, 1861, and for a short time was supine. After Bull Run, the seriousness of the situation was discovered, and large supplies of men were granted. For a time specie payments were maintained, but before long this was impossible, and the war was fought with paper money, as will be described elsewhere. The Confederacy was in a hopeful mood at this time. Cotton was believed to hold the key to the situation. It was believed that neither France nor England would consent to have such articles of necessity cut off, and more active help was looked for. Commissioners were sent to London and Paris, with no result, and a more formidable mission was later sent, which will be treated upon fully in another place. One of Mr. Davis' Southern critics complains that his Cabinet was composed of figureheads, and that he wanted to control everything. He is blamed for not seizing all the cotton in the South, fixing a certain price for it, and then rushing it abroad before the blockade was established. A fleet of iron merchantmen was offered the Confederacy by a foreign firm on easy terms, but was not accepted until it was too late to make the transfer. The Confederacy issued bonds, which for a time sold at a good figure, but finally recourse was had to paper money, which depreciated constantly as the war went on. It is impossible here to give the details of Confederate legislation. As the war went on, Mr. Davis became practical dictator, and he, as also the Confederate Congress, was as roundly abused by many men in

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the South for acts of usurpation, as was the North before the war began. This is the case in all wars of this kind. States' Rights, on which the Confederacy was constructed, proved as bad a condition in this war as it had during the Revolution. If the Confederacy had succeeded it could not have been maintained on the original basis. Centralized control is essential to any large Nation.

Before the blockade became effective, supplies and munitions of war were rushed in. The blockade was never complete, for blockade runners from Nassau and the Bermudas got in and out during the war, bringing in guns and powder in exchange for cotton. The contraband trade was risky and often disastrous, but where one voyage paid the cost of a ship, the temptation was greater than the risk.

The grand strategy of the war developed slowly, and many mistakes were made on both sides. The Confederates' plan was to hold the Mississippi, stretch a chain of forts and camps from the Mississippi to the Alleghanies, along the south central section of Kentucky, while the Army of Virginia was to complete the chain to the Atlantic. The Federal plan was not so well conceived at first. The original idea was to save the border States. Then came the ill-advised method of advance on Richmond. Kentucky, claiming to be neutral, was left alone for a short time, for policy's sake, but she soon declared for the Union, and Grant was ordered to attack Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River, and break the chain of forts that connected the great river and the mountain chain. A flotilla of gunboats, made out of river steamers, and others constructed on new plans, were put in command of Commodore Porter to coöperate with the army. The Confederates

had a small flotilla at and below Memphis. The first break in the Confederate line was made by General Thomas, in January, 1862, who defeated and killed General Zollikoffer, at Mill Spring, Kentucky. The Confederates were obliged to retreat into Tennessee. General Grant then advanced on Fort Henry, Commodore Foote sailed up the river with his flotilla, and the garrison either surrendered or fled to Fort Donelson, a few miles away on the Cumberland River. This was in February, 1862, when the roads were bad and it was difficult to move supplies for the army. Fort Donelson was invested by the army and navy. There were three days of fighting, due to an attempt of the garrison to escape. It was the hardest fighting of the war, up to this time, and the men on both sides showed the results of discipline and training. The fort was now untenable. General Pillow turned the fort over to General Floyd, who in turn handed it over to Buckner, who asked for terms. This brought forth the now historic reply of Grant: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." It is of interest to note that General Grant, then a captain who had just resigned, a few years previous, had landed penniless in New York, and General Buckner, then a subaltern and an old comrade, loaned him enough money to get to his family. Buckner was obliged to surrender, and the line of defenses from the river to the mountains was smashed. Grant moved his army up the Tennessee River to Pittsburg Landing, to await the arrival of General Don Carlos Buell, who was coming with an army from Central Kentucky. He did not expect an attack and made no adequate earth works for defense, so little was the art of war then appreciated. On April 6, 1862, General

Albert S. Johnston, with a well-trained army, fell on the Federals at daybreak. It was at least a partial surprise, and the Federals were driven back some distance before a firm defense could be made. General Grant ordered up a division under General Lew Wallace, from down the river, but it arrived too late for active work that day. Many of the raw soldiers fled to the river bank, but the main body of the army contested the battle firmly, General Wm. T. Sherman's division being especially effective. That night Buell arrived, and Grant was enabled to take the offensive next day, the navy assisting. The Confederates were driven back and General Johnston was mortally wounded, a serious loss to the Confederacy. Though Grant's victory was complete, his losses were so great that there was an outcry against him, and from being the popular hero of Donelson he was unjustly maligned and even accused, though falsely, of drunkenness on the day of battle. General Halleck immediately arrived on the scene and took command. He seemed to have an antipathy for Grant, which made the latter's position very uncomfortable. There was no reason why the army should not have been in front of Corinth in a few days, but Halleck occupied about a month in going thirty miles, only to find that the enemy had fled. Then he fortified Corinth as if it were the greatest strategic point in the South. Soon he was called East, and Grant was left in command, but by this time the Confederates had gotten two armies together, and the opportunity was lost to pierce "the hollow shell of the Confederacy." In the meantime General Pope and the navy, under Porter, had moved down the Mississippi, captured Island No. 10, Fort Pillow, and Memphis. The Confederate line had now been moved to the southern border of Tennessee, except in the eastern part of that State.

It is time to return to Eastern affairs. McClellan was in charge of all the armies, and spent many months in preparation, during which many thousands of his soldiers died of camp disease. There were never frank relations between him and Lincoln. By his own admission McClellan had a small opinion of Lincoln, and wanted to be dictator during the war. The distrust of Lincoln was for a time widespread. Even Seward, in the early part of his administration, offered to be the actual President and allow Lincoln to become a mere figurehead, a proposition that was not accepted. McClellan had an exaggerated idea of Johnston's army, and would not move on Manassas until late in the winter of 1862, even when ordered to do so by Lincoln. When he did move he found the place abandoned. He now proposed to take 100,000 men by sea to the Yorktown Peninsula, go up the York River and capture Richmond. The plan was grudgingly agreed to, provided he left an army under McDowell between Washington and Richmond to protect the Capital; and this army was to march overland to meet McClellan, if its services were not needed to defend Washington.

The army landed near Yorktown, and met strong opposition. Instead of pushing on to Richmond, McClellan stopped to besiege Yorktown and Williamsburg, which gave the Confederates time to collect an army before Richmond, under General Joseph Johnston. When McClellan reached Richmond he met a fierce resistance. The stream Chickahominy, small in itself, but bordered by impassable swamps, flows eastward just north of Richmond. Expecting McDowell, McClellan put part of his army north of the Chickahominy, to connect with the expected Northern army; which, however, did not come because Stonewall Jackson had swept down from

the Shenandoah Valley, cleared it of Federals, threatened Washington, and had then gone to Richmond. This gave the Confederates, strengthened by a sudden rise of the Chickahominy, a chance to attack the sections of the Federal army in detail; and there were seven days of hard fighting, in June, 1862, around Richmond, principally near Fair Oaks, Seven Pines, Mechanicsville, and Gaines' Mill. The Federal army was driven back. Finally, finding his plan of campaign had failed, McClellan resolved to retreat to Harrison's Landing, on the James, and make a new advance on Richmond by that river. Two of the hardest days' fighting were during this retreat, which was conducted in a masterly way. A halt was made at Malvern Hill, near Harrison's Landing, where the Confederates were defeated. Arriving at Harrison's Landing, early in July, McClellan sent angry telegrams to Lincoln because McDowell had not reached him, and was ordered home with his whole army and deprived of his general command, while Halleck was made Commander-in-Chief.

General Johnston having been wounded, Robert E. Lee was placed in command of the army of Virginia. He resolved on the initiative, and started North. Near the battlefield of Bull Run he met General John Pope, who had succeeded McDowell. Pope's army was not well in hand and, by skillful maneuvers Lee gained a complete victory. Finding it impracticable to attack Washington, he marched up the Potomac and entered Maryland. In the meantime Jackson captured Harper's Ferry. Although McClellan was no longer in general command, he assumed it, and marched after Lee, whom he met at South Mountain, and gave him a severe check. A few days later the armies met, September 17, 1862, at Sharpsburg, on Antietam Creek, and a general

engagement took place. The Federal army did not act in unison, or Lee might have been crushed. The Federals gained the day, but Lee was able to retreat at night and cross the Potomac in safety, though with heavy loss. This ended the campaign for the summer. McClellan was removed from command, and the North was much discouraged.

If Lee had defeated McClellan and gained Maryland to the Confederacy, he could have cut off Washington from the North. This result would have had an important effect abroad and might have gained recognition of the independence of the Confederacy. On the other hand, if McClellan had used his opportunity to the full he could have destroyed Lee's army and taken Richmond almost without a struggle. At the end of the campaign the Confederates occupied Fredericksburg, while the Federals, with General Ambrose Burnside in command, lay opposite them across the river.

Meanwhile there had been important events in the West and South. In the spring of 1862 General Butler was sent with an army and Commodore Farragut with a fleet to capture New Orleans, the largest city in the Confederacy. The Confederates relied chiefly on their hastily constructed but formidable flotilla, and on Forts Jackson and Philip, below the city, which were constructed on the best scientific principles and tolerably well manned. Farragut sailed in, April 24 and 25, 1862, destroyed the Confederate fleet with considerable loss, and passed the forts, which surrendered; and Butler took possession of New Orleans, which he ruled with a rigorous hand. The loss of this city was a great blow, as it cleft the Confederacy in twain. Farragut sailed up past Vicksburg, met Foote, who was coöperating with

Grant to take Vicksburg, and aided in driving the Confederates from the Upper Mississippi.

We must go back a little. In the summer of 1862 General Bragg, with a Confederate army, made a dash from Chattanooga for Louisville. Buell started to intercept him, and gained the city by one day. Then Bragg retreated and Buell followed. The armies met at Perryville, Ky., October 8th, and a heavy battle was fought, but only a portion of either army was engaged. Bragg was beaten back, but the defeat was not so decisive as might have been the case had the Federal army been concentrated. Grant had sent troops with Buell, and the Confederates again took the initiative. There Generals Price and Van Dorn attempted to defeat the army in detail. There were unimportant battles at Iuka and Holly Springs, and then the two Confederate armies united. Rosecrans met them at Corinth, and gave them a severe defeat, driving them forty miles in a complete rout. There was dissatisfaction with Buell for his failure to destroy Bragg, probably unfounded, and Rosecrans was given command of Buell's army. Bragg now attempted another Northern raid, but was met by Rosecrans at Stone River, near Murfreesboro. The battle lasted two days (December 31 and January 2, 1862-3), with one day's intermission. The losses on both sides were among the severest of the war. Bragg was defeated, and moved South in good order.

In the meantime Grant had sent Sherman, in December, 1862, to capture Vicksburg, the chief stronghold of the Confederates on the Mississippi. This was a failure, for the country was not adapted to an assault. Early in 1863 the Confederates were driven out of Missouri. General Curtis was sent with a large army to meet Price

and Van Dorn. He met them at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, March 6th to 8th, and, after a hard battle, defeated them decisively. After one more movement North, the Confederates were entirely driven out of Missouri, and got no foothold again during the war.

The last battle of the year, in the East, was at Fredericksburg. Burnside threw his army across the river (December 13, 1862) to attack the Confederates. A portion of the army succeeded, but, owing either to poor plans, lack of concert or failure to get orders in time, the army again failed to act in concert. The main attack on Marye's Heights, behind the town, was repulsed by the Confederates with terrible slaughter, and the movement came to an end. Burnside was relieved and General Joseph Hooker placed in command.

The war had now lasted nearly two years. In the East there had been no advantages gained, and the Federal armies had been defeated, except in West Virginia and Maryland. In the West, the Federal forces held most of Western Tennessee and the northern portion of Mississippi; and in the South, New Orleans and vicinity. This was not very encouraging to the North, and the elections went against the Republicans. The Democrats elected a majority of the House of Representatives, but a majority of the whole was favorable to a vigorous prosecution of the war. On January 1, 1863, Lincoln, after ninety days' notice, issued a proclamation declaring free all slaves in that portion of the Confederacy not occupied by Federal arms. He had determined to do this if Lee should fail in his Northern raid. The proclamation was not received with unanimous favor, as many felt that the question at issue was the Union and not slavery, not understanding how the two were connected.

FARRAGUT FORCES THE ENTRANCE OF MOBILE BAY

Painting by W. H. Overend

Let us look at foreign affairs for a moment. That arch-intermeddler, Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, was ready to interfere on behalf of the South, if he were backed by Great Britain. At this time the British Cabinet was not particularly friendly to the North. Cotton was needed for the factories, and to outsiders it seemed as if the Confederacy might win. The so-called Trent Affair nearly won over Great Britain at first, but eventually ranged her on the side of the Federal Government. The first commissioners sent abroad had accomplished nothing, not even an emissary to the Pope, who declined to interfere so long as slavery was recognized by the Confederacy. Late in 1861 President Davis sent James M. Mason and John Slidell as Ministers to Great Britain and France, to negotiate for a recognition of independence, claiming that cotton was a world staple obtainable only from the Confederacy, and must not be blockaded, and claiming that the blockade was not effective, and therefore, under the laws of Nations, not valid. Unfortunately for this last contention, the Ministers or Commissioners and their families had hard work in running the blockade and reaching Havana. In the latter city they were received with great demonstrations of joy. They took passage on the British steamer Trent for St. Thomas, intending to proceed thence to England. Captain Wilkes, of the U. S. Steamship San Jacinto, heard of this and resolved to capture them. On November 8, 1861, he stopped the Trent, took off the Commissioners and Secretaries, and let the steamer proceed. Great was the joy in the North over this, and great the anger in Great Britain. The latter took the initiative, and sent an ultimatum to the United States. Yet it was not intended to force an issue. The dying Prince Consort Albert toned down

the dispatches, and the British Minister at Washington, Lord Lyons, was instructed to allow a reasonable time for a reply. Secretary Seward spent a week on the subject, which was an important one, as a failure to give up the captured Commissioners meant a foreign war. His reply was that the seizure of the Trent was legal, but that Wilkes should have brought her into a prize court for adjudication and, because he did not, the Commissioners were entitled to be returned to Great Britain. This was done, and though it was a bitter bill, it saved Great Britain from ensuring the success of the Confederacy. When Messrs. Mason and Slidell reached Europe they got no encouragement. Foreign intervention was never secured, and no aid except from blockade runners for private account and the laxity of British officials in allowing the Confederate cruisers Florida, Alabama, and Shenandoah to be built in British ports and to go forth to prey on the commerce of the United States. Another cruiser was built, but was never let out of the dock because an Englishman gave a $5,000,000 bond in favor of the British Ministry for a few days. To cover this, an equal amount of United States bonds were issued and hurried to England. It took Mr. Chittenden, Register of the Treasury, many hours of continuous labor to sign these bonds, and he never recovered from a partial paralysis due to the labor involved. For many years it was customary to speak of these vessels as privateers, but the best American writers now concede that they were full-fledged Confederate cruisers, under the laws of Nations, and entitled to do their work when once in commission. There were some Confederate privateers, which did some damage to American commerce, but they were comparatively a small factor. The Florida, after an exciting career, was captured in

violation of neutrality laws, but sank before Brazil, the offended Nation, could secure her return. It is believed that her loss was not accidental. The Alabama destroyed many vessels, and swept American commerce from the seas. She was finally destroyed June 19, 1864, by the U. S. Steamship Kearsarge, off Cherbourg. The Shenandoah went to sea late, and cruised principally in the South seas, where she did great damage, even after the war was over. Learning of the end she steamed into Liverpool and hauled down her flag.

The principal naval event of 1862 was the appearance of the Monitor as a new factor in warfare. In 1861 the chief navy yard in the country was near Norfolk, Va. Every effort was made to protect this, but a series of accidents, misconstruction of orders and fear of capture led to its loss. The principal vessels could have been saved, but this was in April, 1861, when the administration was coquetting with Virginia—all to no purpose. Too late the order was issued to sail away, the Confederates were coming; the vessels were blown up, and the principal buildings burned, but a great mass of valuable war material, principally cannon, fell into the hands of the Confederates.

The destruction at this time was not so great as was supposed. Subsequent events showed that the Federals could have preserved most all of the equipment, but, in the haste to destroy after evacuation had proved a failure, the work was not complete. When Virginia joined the Confederacy it was found that great stores of cannon and ammunition had been saved, while the vessels supposedly destroyed were not beyond redemption. One of the war vessels, the Merrimac, was raised and rebuilt as an ironclad. She was cut down to the hull, a slanting roof protected by iron was placed on her

deck, and she was altered as far as possible to be the most complete fighting machine afloat. In March, 1862, she steamed down to Hampton Roads, near Fortress Monroe, to do all the damage she could, and to sail up the Potomac, if possible. On both sides the situation was overestimated. The Confederates knew that the vessel was vulnerable, while the Federals overestimated her powers. If the Merrimac could destroy the fleet in Hampton Roads, what might she not accomplish? The frigate Cumberland was destroyed easily March 8, 1862, and the Minnesota grounded, but the Merrimac retired to Norfolk without completing the destruction of the latter. That night the Monitor arrived to protect the Federal fleet. She was the invention of John Ericsson, and from this vessel all modern navies have in some respects been modeled. Her hull was almost entirely below water, and on her flat deck an iron turret was placed, which revolved on an axis. In the turret were two large guns. For that day she was invulnerable, but she was far from being perfect. A hot duel ensued next day with the Merrimac, in which neither vessel was seriously injured, but the Merrimac retired to Norfolk and was soon blown up. It marked a decisive era in the history of the war, though it is doubtful if the Merrimac could really have threatened Washington very seriously, as was supposed, if the Monitor had not arrived. The latter was commanded by John L. Worden, who later became an Admiral.

The year 1863 may be said to have been the decisive year of the war, though fighting continued until the spring of 1865. The campaign may be said to have been begun in December, 1862, by General Burnside, who was in command of the Army of the Potomac, and fought, as we have seen, the desperate and useless con-

flict at Fredericksburg. He was succeeded in command by General Joseph Hooker. At the center General Rosecrans fought the desperate and successful battle at Stone River, near Murfreesboro, and advanced to Central Tennessee. In the West General Grant began to draw in on Vicksburg, which controlled the Mississippi. The plan of campaign involved forward movements of the three armies, which should have been simultaneous, but were not.

Hooker, in May, evolved a plan to drive Lee out of Fredericksburg and defeat him in open battle. The plans were well laid, and up to a certain point well executed. The Federal army crossed the Rappahannock, and one corps made an attack on Fredericksburg, while the main part of the army engaged General Lee. The battle took place in the Wilderness (May 1-4, 1863), while Hooker's headquarters were at the Chancellor House, which gives the name of Chancellorsville to the battle. After the Federal army had made a good advance and secured an excellent position, it was ordered back by General Hooker, to the amazement of the corps commanders. In the meantime Lee, finding himself in danger, sent Stonewall Jackson with his corps, by a long detour, to smash the flank of the Federals. This was done with success, though Jackson was mortally wounded by his own men, through mistake. Hooker now recrossed the river, and the position of the army was much as before. Thus the armies lay until June, when Lee resolved on another raid to the North, in the hope that victory would lead foreign Nations to interfere on behalf of the Confederacy. His army was divided into three infantry corps under Hill, Ewell, and Longstreet, and a cavalry corps commanded by J. E. B. Stuart. The movement was so quiet that some days

elapsed before Hooker discovered it and started in pursuit. Lee's main army crossed the Potomac not far from Harper's Ferry, and invaded Pennsylvania, the cavalry crossing near Washington and reaching the Susquehanna. Hooker pushed hard after, but on the road was superseded by one of his corps commanders, General Meade. The two armies were spread over a large territory, but the first conflict came July 1, 1863, near the village of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Early in the fight the Federal General Reynolds was killed, but General Howard, who soon arrived with his corps, took command. The Confederates concentrated more rapidly than the Federals, and the first day went hard against the latter, who finally retired to a ridge several miles long, extending from Cemetery Hill to Big Round Top, though the ridge was badly broken through in one place by a ravine not far from Little Round Top. On July 2d Lee took the offensive, and made heavy onslaughts at both ends of the Federal line. He gained some success with heavy loss, but could not break the lines. On July 3d he tried to smash the center. The divisions of Pickett and Pettigrew, with some additional troops, about 15,000 in all, were marched a mile across the valley to pierce the center on Cemetery Ridge. It was one of the most magnificent attempts in history, but it failed. The Confederates were decimated by an enfilading fire before they reached the Federal line, and were driven back in confusion with heavy loss. At the same time Stuart's effort to break through the rear was prevented. The campaign was a failure. After sustaining terrible losses Lee was compelled to retreat. This he did in a masterly way, and reached Virginia almost without molestation. The rest of the year there was a series of maneuvers on both sides to get into desir-

able position, but there was little fighting, and both armies went into winter quarters, leaving matters much as they were when the year opened.

In the West there was a different state of affairs. After tremendous labor, General Grant succeeded in crossing the Mississippi, getting his army below Vicksburg, and besieged the city from the rear. The Confederates were defeated in several important battles, and Jackson was taken. A final assault on the earthworks of Vicksburg was repelled with heavy loss, but the city, under General Pemberton, capitulated July 4, 1863. Shortly after the Confederates at Port Hudson, where alone on the river they were in force, surrendered, and the Mississippi ran unvexed to the sea. An expedition was sent up the Red River on a raid, but it had no strategic value. The expedition was unsuccessful, and got back again with great difficulty, as the river had fallen rapidly.

The next move was made at the center. Rosecrans moved his army south and invaded Georgia. The success of Grant at Vicksburg led Rosecrans into fancied security, for his army was stretched over a wide section when he was confronted, in September, by a strong Confederate force under Bragg, reinforced by Longstreet from Lee's army. The first day's fighting (September 19, 1863) along the Chickamauga Creek, was undecisive, and during the night Rosecrans concentrated his army. The next day the fighting was furious, but the Federals held their own until the blunder of an officer allowed a brigade to be withdrawn, leaving a large gap in the center. Into this gap Longstreet hurled his legion and doubled up the Federal line both ways, inflicting a most disastrous defeat. Thomas alone, on the Federal left, held firm and gained the name of "the

Rock of Chickamauga." The army retreated to Chattanooga and was soon besieged, leaving only a wagon road open for supplies. Rosecrans was relieved from command, and was succeeded by Thomas.

General Grant was now placed in command of all the armies in the West, and went at once to Chattanooga. In a short time he had the army well fed and equipped. General Sherman was sent with a corps to attack in the rear of Missionary Ridge. General Thomas was to attack in front, while General Hooker, with two corps from the Army of the Potomac, was to capture Lookout Mountain. In two days the Confederates were completely dislodged and driven South. The battle above the clouds, on Lookout (November 24, 1863), and the charge up Missionary Ridge (November 25th) were two spectacular and important military events of the war. Immediately afterward Grant sent Sherman to the relief of Burnside, who was besieged at Knoxville by Longstreet. The siege was raised, and Longstreet joined Lee in Virginia.

The Confederacy was now not only split, but had lost control of Louisiana, Tennessee, and portions of other States; but there was no talk of surrender. Grant was made Lieutenant-General, and placed in command of all the armies. His plan of campaign was simple. All the armies were to coöperate and make for Richmond. Sherman was placed in command in the West. Grant remained in the East, where Meade still commanded the Army of the Potomac and Butler the Army of the James. In May, 1864, the forward movements began. Grant threw his army across the Rapidan and fought successive battles in the Wilderness, at North Anna and Cold Harbor, in which the losses were terrible on both sides. Lee would not come from behind his entrenchments, and

Grant could not get over them, but Lee could not stop Grant's progress. Finding it impossible to get Lee into open battle, Grant threw his army across the James and besieged Petersburg during the rest of the year, and until the next spring. While Grant was fighting Lee, General Early swooped down and threatened Washington, but was driven off.

The Shenandoah Valley had long been the storehouse of the Confederacy, and Federal attempts to control it had not been successful. Banks, Hunter, and others had been driven out, and Winchester had repeatedly changed hands. Grant now sent General Sheridan there, who swept the valley from one end to the other, inflicting, in September, 1864, serious defeats on General Early, who opposed him. After this the Valley remained in Federal control.

In the West Sherman marched to Atlanta, after being opposed with great ability by the Confederates under General Joe Johnston. The latter did not want to fight unless compelled to do so, as his army was small. Sherman also did not care to fight unless necessary, so a brilliant succession of military maneuvers took place, but Sherman was successful. Johnston was then relieved, and Hood placed in command. He began fighting at once, only to meet defeat. Atlanta fell, and Hood retreated. Sherman now sent Schofield, with his corps, to join Thomas at Nashville, and look after Hood while, with his main army, he cut loose and marched through Georgia to Savannah, which fell about Christmas time, 1864. Thus the Confederacy was bisected again. Meanwhile Farragut, with his fleet, had captured Mobile and Schofield had defeated Hood, at Franklin, Tennessee, in one of the bloodiest battles of the war, and fallen back on Nashville. In December, 1864,

Thomas came out and, in a two days' battle, utterly defeated Hood so that his army never again became an effective force. This ended the war in the West, except for fighting on a small scale. In February, 1865, Stephens, with two others, met Lincoln at Hampton Roads, and tried to arrange peace, but it was not successful, as Lincoln demanded that the Union be kept intact and the slaves freed.

Meanwhile Sherman started north to meet Grant, before Richmond, but was met by Johnston, with a small army, in North Carolina. Grant did not wait for Sherman. It was evident that Lee must evacuate Richmond, and his plan was to join Johnston and defeat Sherman. This plan was foiled. Petersburg fell April 2, 1865, and Richmond on the third. Then there was a week's race and hard fighting to the southwest, but Grant was ahead, and finally Lee surrendered his whole army at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865. Grant paroled the whole army, and allowed the men to take home their horses to begin farming. A few days later Sherman received terms from Johnston, which were not satisfactory, and then, after some friction between Sherman and the administration, Johnston surrendered on the same terms as Lee; and the war was over, other small armies surrendering in a short time without a struggle. The army disbanded quickly, the men returning to their homes and soon but 50,000 men were left under arms. The liberal land laws to veterans let thousands of the late soldiers go West and take up claims. In this way Kansas and Nebraska soon had a thriving population.

Meanwhile a great tragedy had taken place. Lincoln had been reëlected, in 1864, after a bitter struggle. There was a large section of the Democrats of the North

dissatisfied with the conduct of the war, and these chose General McClellan for their candidate. Frémont had been nominated by dissatisfied Republicans, but he withdrew before the election. Lincoln had an overwhelming majority in the Electoral College, but the popular vote was as follows: Lincoln, 2,216,067; McClellan, 1,808,725. Electoral vote: Lincoln, 212; McClellan, 21.

This showed a closer division than might have been expected. McClellan received almost the same number of votes that Lincoln got in 1860, while Lincoln gained less than 400,000. The slavery question was still in politics. The Emancipation Proclamation had not been received well in some portions of the North, where the question of slavery was of less importance than of preserving the Union, and it was feared it would prevent a restoration on any terms. It appeared to Mr. Lincoln that reëlection by Republican votes alone was impossible, so he determined to secure the nomination of a War Democrat for Vice-President. He first offered the nomination to General Butler, who declined it, and then to Andrew Johnson, who accepted it. Johnson was a man of little education, but of great will power. He had been Governor of Tennessee, Senator, and then Military Governor, rising from the tailor's bench in a little mountain town.

Great was the joy in the North over the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Lee. Just four years had the fighting lasted, and peace was welcomed with the wildest enthusiasm, only to be dampened by the murder of the President. On the night of Good Friday, April 14, 1865, in Ford's Theater, Washington, John Wilkes Booth, the actor, entered the box where the President was seated, shot him, and jumped to the stage, shouting

"Sic semper tyrannis." He broke the bones of his ankle in the jump from the box, but managed to escape and, by aid of confederates, crossed the Potomac and got into Virginia, but in a few days was discovered. Refusing to surrender, he was shot. On the same night that Lincoln was shot, Secretary Seward was stabbed seriously, and Grant escaped only by absence from the city. Lincoln survived until Saturday morning, April 15, 1865, but died without recovering consciousness.

Terrible was the wrath of the North over the event, and the best men in the South regretted it equally, for all had come to respect Lincoln, and they realized that his murder would be laid upon the South, which would suffer accordingly—a presentiment that was correct. It developed that there was a small conspiracy involved, but that it included no one outside of Washington and was not inspired by any Southern leaders. Just how much each of the parties to the conspiracy knew is uncertain. The meetings were at the home of Mrs. Surratt. The others who were found to be most closely involved were men named Harold, Payne, and Atzerott, who, with Mrs. Surratt, were executed. Others who in any way aided Booth to escape were punished severely.

And now a few statistics about the war. There were issued ten calls for troops, for a total of 2,763,670 men. At first the South was called upon, but not thereafter. These calls were distributed among the States according to population; and 2,772,408 responded, while 86,724 paid commutation money. But, as some of these men enlisted twice or more, it is estimated that the actual number of men who enlisted on a three years' basis numbered 2,320,272, of whom 186,097 were colored. The regular army, in the war, consisted of about 67,000 men. Some of the volunteers served but a short time,

in cases of emergency. The average number of Federal troops present in the field during 1862-3-4 and '65 was 600,000; the largest number being 800,000 in May, 1865. The average number absent from the army for various causes was about 250,000; so that the total army rose steadily from 575,917 on January 1, 1862, to 1,000,516 on May 1, 1865. Altogether there were 1,981 regiments in the three armies, 498 separate companies, and 232 separate batteries, or about 2,072 regiments, if all had been properly organized and consolidated.

The losses of the army have never been accurately determined. There were many persons who deserted and have never been accounted for; many who were killed or died in prison, of whom no record was kept; but three different estimates by various bureaus do not greatly differ. Phisterer's estimate, though now believed to be somewhat too low, is as follows: Killed in battle, 44,238; died of wounds, 49,205; died of disease, 186,216; unknown, suicides, etc., 24,710; total, 304,369.

The latest estimates give the loss as high as 360,000.

There were 2,261 engagements of all kinds, and in 148 of these the Federal loss was 500 or more.

The following table gives the losses in the principal battles of the Civil War. The figures are the total for killed, wounded, and missing, as given in Phisterer's Official Record:

Battle	*Union.*	*Confederate.*
Bull Run	2,952	1,752
Shiloh	13,573	10,699
Seven Pines and Fair Oaks	5,739	7,997
Seven Days' Battles	15,249	17,583
Second Bull Run	7,800	3,700
Antietam	12,469	25,899
Perryville	4,348	7,000
Fredericksburg	12,353	4,576
Murfreesboro	11,578	25,560

Chancellorsville	16,030	12,281
Gettysburg Campaign	23,186	31,621
Chickamauga	15,851	17,804
Chattanooga	5,616	8,684
Wilderness	37,737	11,400
Spottsylvania, etc.	26,461	9,000
Atlanta	3,641	8,499
Franklin	2,326	6,252
Nashville	2,140	15,000
Surrendered at the close, about		100,000

The statistics for the Confederate army are not so easy to give, because many of the records have been destroyed, and because not all of the calls for troops were met. At first States' rights were recognized by calling for State troops, but this soon became unsatisfactory, and the Confederate army was organized. Under the various calls for troops and the many acts of legislation by the Confederate Congress every able bodied man in the Confederacy was, sooner or later, called into the service, and finally boys and old men were pressed into service for garrison duty. It is believed that 750,000 men, in all, were regularly enlisted, armed, and equipped; but probably not 500,000 were ever in the service at one time, while the real number of effectives must have been considerably less. Yet the disparity in effectiveness between these two armies was not so great as the figures suggest. The Confederates were always, with a few exceptions, in their own territory and generally behind works. The Confederates never won a victory outside their own borders, not even in the border States of Kentucky or Maryland, nor did they have any important successes in Tennessee. The Federal army was obliged to keep up a long line of communication from its base of supplies, and this constantly depleted the firing line. The great Confederate victory in the West was at Chickamauga. In the East the victories were in defending

their capital. Both sides fought with great valor, and the end did not come until the fighting power of the South had gone. It is believed that the Confederate army lost over 200,000 men killed, died of wounds or disease. There is one excellent authority who claims, on the basis of the few returns available, that the loss was at least 300,000, and perhaps more, making a total sacrifice of nearly 700,000 men.

Financially, both sections were in great trouble much of the time. War is terribly expensive. The North had more resources than the South, but at first it had little credit and no cash. The Morrill tariff bill, passed in 1861, provided for a war revenue, but it was only a drop in the bucket. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to borrow, but lenders were few. The whole Nation was for a time in a dazed condition. Secession, so long threatened, had come, and many loyal persons believed that it was not possible to maintain the Union by war and preferred a peaceable separation. Others feared that a war would be useless, as Europe would interfere on behalf of the South, because almost all the cotton in the world came from within her borders, and to shut off this commodity would cause so much distress that international law would be strained to force an outlet for this great staple. Could the Confederacy have had a steady outlet for cotton it could have kept up the struggle much longer.

It was with this purpose in view that Mr. Davis sent Mason and Slidell to Great Britain and France; but the failure was as complete as was an appeal to the Pope at Rome, who made the abolishment of slavery a *sine qua non* of recognition. This of course was impossible. The Confederacy first resorted to loans guaranteed by cotton, and for a time their loans sold well; but when

cotton was no longer allowed to leave the country except as captured by the Federals, there was difficulty in making loans on any good basis. The Confederate expenses were enormous, because of the great risk in getting in supplies from abroad. There were few good mechanics in the South, and few foundries; the Tredegar Iron Works, at Richmond, was the only first-class establishment of its kind in the Confederacy. When loans from the States and bond sales failed to raise money resort was had to paper currency, which was issued in large amounts. Just how much was current will never be known. The workmanship on the notes was poor, and counterfeits in the North were easily made, so that the South was swamped with paper money. It declined steadily with the fortunes of the Confederate arms, and after the war it became, along with the bonds, entirely worthless. Many of these bonds were held abroad. In fairness it can be said that the finances of the Confederacy were never well handled, even considering all the difficulties involved.

The Federal Government was more fortunate. After a short period of gloom and despair the Northern people resolved to stick together. A meeting of the leading bankers was held and money was furnished for a time almost as called for. The Treasury also issued interest bearing notes for small denominations, but even these were not sufficient for the strain. When it was found that there was to be a long and bloody war, entirely original measures were taken. The National Banking System, substantially as it now is, was established. This had the two-fold effect of marketing bonds and providing currency for the needs of the people. Income and internal revenue taxes were laid on many articles. Specie payments were suspended, but no great disaster

SURRENDER OF LEE AT APPOMATTOX

came. Finally, non-interest bearing Treasury notes to the amount of nearly $450,000,000 were issued to pay war expenses. These were never on a par with gold, falling to about 40 per cent at one time, but fluctuating according to the success of the Federal arms. After the war they rose in value rapidly, but did not reach par until 1878. During the most trying part of the war Mr. Chase was at the head of the Treasury, but, on the death of Chief Justice Taney, succeeded him and Hugh McCullough became Secretary. During the war most of the bonds were sold through the agency of Jay Cooke, of Philadelphia—the fourth man from that city to finance our Government in a war. By August, 1865, the National debt, which was only about $80,000,000 in 1860, had reached $2,845,000,000. About $800,000,000 was raised during the war by customs duties, internal revenue, and direct taxes.

FIFTH PERIOD

FROM THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR TO THE WAR WITH SPAIN

The death of Lincoln in 1865 caused unparalleled sorrow and alarm. It was not only that a beloved leader was dead, but it was believed that a great conspiracy existed to reopen the war and destroy the fruits of victory. In time this was found to be untrue, but the belief had a great effect on subsequent history. Revenge for Lincoln's death and belief in the treacherous nature of Southern people, were responsible for much of the subsequent legislation that bore so hard on the South. Indeed it is hard to estimate the direct and indirect influence Booth's act had upon the late Confederate States. Directly we can trace some of it, but indirectly we can only estimate what might have been done under the wise direction of Abraham Lincoln, whose last official act was connected with a speedy restoration of the Union. That Lincoln would have encountered opposition from Congress is certain, but that his commanding position would have enabled him to deal with reconstruction in a way that would have commanded general support is unquestioned. Lincoln had the mature judgment, the plastic touch, and the great heart that would have found a solution to the greatest problem of the age without all the troubles that came in its train.

To digress a moment: Sheridan was sent with an army to Texas, ready, if necessary, to drive the French out of Mexico, where Napoleon III had set an Austrian

Prince on the Imperial throne, but the French retired, and Emperor Maximilian was executed. At the Hampton Roads conference Stephens hoped that a foreign war would bring about domestic peace. His idea was to combine both armies and march against Mexico, and then settle internal differences afterward. This was, of course, rejected by Mr. Lincoln.

All eyes now turned on Andrew Johnson, who at once took the oath of office, and his unfortunate condition at the time gave rise to exaggerated reports of his drunkenness. In his speech he made no reference to Lincoln, but used the first personal pronoun freely. This made a bad impression. He retained Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet—the only accidental President to take such action. As has been said, Johnson was a Democrat, without culture and very headstrong. At first he proposed to make "treason odious." Being a Southern man, many Southern leaders feared a drastic policy, and many civil and military officers of the late Confederacy fled the country. Wiser counsels prevailed, however, and Johnson, under the influence of his Cabinet, was induced to take a different course. Then he went to the other extreme. Davis was put in a military prison, but subsequently released on bail, and never tried for treason. Amnesty was granted under conditions, from time to time, until only the high civil and military officers were exempt, and to these it was generally granted on application, until Congress, in alarm, took that duty on itself. Congress was not called in session during the rest of the year, and though many leaders had grave doubts about the new President, the Republican party seemed satisfied with Johnson's administration, as he was generally endorsed at State conventions.

The administration was busy at work on the question

of reconstruction. It had been the policy of President Lincoln to recognize any lately seceded State whenever 10 per cent of the loyal voters of 1860 formed a government under proper restrictions. This was done by Louisiana and Arkansas, but after a controversy with the President, the most serious of his administration, Congress finally refused to recognize this reconstruction. Johnson continued this plan on a liberal scale. He appointed provisional Governors, and urged all the States to form governments by votes of the loyal white citizens, including those who were amnestied, and resume peaceful pursuits, holding that there never had been and never could be legal secession, and that the Union was intact. Now, this was the Republican theory, but, in practice, it was desired that some bonds be given for future conduct, and that restoration to sovereignty and membership in the Union must be preceded by Congressional action.

The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, forever forbidding slavery, was ratified and proclaimed in 1865. Great was the indignation in the radical section of the Republican party when, in December, 1865, members of Congress elected from some of the States lately in revolt applied for admission. Some of these, including Stephens, appeared and took the "iron clad" oath that they had been loyal to the Government. In these States regular forms of government had been set up in accordance with Presidential proclamation. They adopted new Constitutions, in which slavery was eliminated; elected Legislatures which adopted the thirteenth amendment, abolishing slavery (which had been proposed by the preceding Congress), and elected Senators, while the people chose Representatives. By acting in accord with the executive proclamation these States

expected to be received back into the Union on the terms laid down. Congress refused admission to these members, declaring Congressional action was necessary to reconstruction; thus leaving the late Confederate States in the position of being neither in the Union nor out of it. Much of the objection was due to the fact that the new Southern Legislatures passed laws regarding vagrant negroes, which, if carried out, would have in many cases made their lot little worse than before. Southerners replied that these were modeled on the master and servant statutes of New England—which were, however, seldom executed, as the custom of indenturing had gone out of use. Congress had already passed the **Freedman's Bureau** Act, by which aid was given to the freedman, through the Bureau, whose agents were army officers, not all of whom were fit men. Grant complained bitterly of some of these men, but many were honest and efficient. Congress passed a new act, extending the powers of the Bureau, but the President vetoed it. Then another similar act was passed, vetoed, and passed over the President's head. The break between Congress and the President was complete. Congress wanted to reconstruct the Union in its own way, and ignored or denied the President's authority. Unfortunately it had as yet no definite plan. Johnson was as firm for his prerogatives as was any Stuart King, and the clash came. An act giving the negro civil rights was likewise vetoed, and passed over his head. The President was greatly disappointed, and, in a tour of the country, made some very radical and unusual speeches, declaring that Congress was not a legal Congress, because it denied admission to legally elected members from the South. Radical men in Congress believed Johnson to be in secret alliance with the

South, and the fight became bitter. The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution was finally ratified and proclaimed in 1868. It defined citizenship, provided for apportionment of Representatives, prohibited former National or State officers who had sworn allegiance to the Government, and had joined the Confederacy, from holding office, unless their disabilities were removed by Congress, confirmed the public debt, and prohibited the payment of any Confederate debts. After long delay, in 1867, two acts were passed, on which reconstruction was based. The late Confederacy was divided into five military districts, each under the control of a General, and past attempts at reconstruction were ignored, except provisionally. Drastic provisions were made for forming new governments, among which negro suffrage was practically provided for, and which required adoption of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution. The second act required the "iron clad oath" to be given voters (save those who had accepted amnesty), by which only those were given the ballot who were not disfranchised for rebellion. All were disfranchised who had previously taken the oath of allegiance and violated it, so that nearly all the white men of any prominence in the South were disfranchised, while the negroes voted and got many of the offices. The result of this legislation was that the State Governments set up only represented a minority of the wealth and intelligence of the States; and, as many of the officials were recent comers from the North, the so-called "carpet bag governments" were the result. In most cases these governments were failures; the Legislatures were often either ignorant or corrupt or both, and enormous debts were created usually for building railways, much of which was absolutely wasted. A large part of these debts was afterward

repudiated by the States. Finally, after the passage by Congress of the fifteenth amendment, giving the negro the right to vote (adopted 1870), the remaining unreconstructed States were obliged to adopt that amendment or be kept out. This legislation was carried in the House under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, who maintained a power over legislation never equaled in that body. In justice it should be said that the greatest prejudice against the South was in the minds of those who had never been in the war. Those who had fought were in a different position. They respected men who fought to the last ditch for their opinions. It is believed that Abraham Lincoln contemplated calling a convention of all the Federal and Confederate officers above the rank of Brigadier-General to consider the state of the Union, and that good results would have been obtained.

The result of this controversy was a violent attack by Congress on the President, who was now on bad terms with General Grant—now Commander of the army with the rank of General, while Sherman was Lieutenant-General. Laws were passed, over his veto, practically taking away his command of the army, and requiring all orders to be sent through the Commander of the army, who should live at the Capitol. The Tenure of Office Act was passed, making it illegal for a President to remove any of his Federal appointees from office without consent of the Senate; and finally an attempt at impeachment was made, which failed. All this time the President had kept Lincoln's Cabinet; and to his credit be it said that he executed all the laws passed over his veto. But, during the recess of Congress, he removed Secretary Stanton and put Grant in his place. When the Senate convened it refused to

confirm Grant, who resigned, and Stanton took his old place. Johnson again removed him and appointed Adjutant-General Lorenzo Thomas. For this Johnson was impeached by the House and tried by the Senate on many grounds, but the main point at issue was whether Johnson had really violated the Tenure of Office Act. While the defense showed clearly enough that there had been no such violation, inasmuch as Stanton was an appointee of Lincoln and not of Johnson, party spirit ran so high that there was only one vote lacking of the two-thirds necessary to convict. A number of Republicans who voted against conviction were consigned to political infamy, and suffered a political martyrdom that was in some cases most painful. Yet of those who voted for conviction and lived twenty years thereafter, many admitted that they were moved largely by political considerations, that their judgment was warped by the excitement of the times, and that Johnson did not deserve conviction. It is generally believed now that he wanted to carry out Lincoln's policy, as he incorrectly understood it, but that his defects of temperament and character, and his lack of calm judgment, together with his inordinate ambition and ridiculous vanity, made it impossible to command the confidence of the people. He was restrained by his Cabinet from doing many things he wished, while the public often censured Seward for remaining in the Cabinet; he did the country a great service by so doing. If Johnson had not been restrained, the consequences would have been very serious for the Nation. History has done justice to both parties to this controversy. Both sides were honest in intention, but warped in judgment by circumstances. Those who sit down calmly in a later age to distribute praise and blame must remember that human nature is stronger

than human law, and too often is in defiance of Divine commandment. Truly did the bard of all time say: "Forbear to judge, for we are sinners all." Both made mistakes, but, if we may judge by the results, Johnson's plan was in the main correct. So long as the military arm gave protection the Reconstruction governments were sustained in power. When that arm was withdrawn the white people in the South resumed possession of their States in no pleasant frame of mind, and the negro was practically eliminated from the franchise in spite of the adoption of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, which were supposed to guarantee him power and self-protection. Indeed the hope of the negro is not in the past legislation of Congress, but in the lines laid down by Booker T. Washington and others of the race, who clearly see that the negro must fully win respect by his own character and his deeds before he can be equal with the Saxon in treatment, as he is in the law that cannot be executed.

The rest of Johnson's administration was uneventful. The Republicans, in 1868, at Philadelphia, nominated General Grant for President and Speaker Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Francis P. Blair, of Missouri. The result was never in doubt; Grant winning by a large vote, both popular and electoral, as follows: Grant and Colfax, 3,015,071; Seymour and Blair, 2,709,613; Republican majority, 305,458.

Grant had 214 and Seymour 80 electoral votes; Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia, with 23 votes, not voting. There is one feature to be noted that is of interest. Lincoln in 1860 was a minority President. In 1864, had the eleven revolted States voted, he would again have been

in a minority. In 1868, if there had been a free, full vote in the whole South, Grant might have been defeated on the popular vote. So that the fear of the Republican party, which the South had before its eyes from 1856, was unreasonable. It was not until 1872 that the Republicans carried the whole country by a clear, popular majority, and they did not do it again for twenty-four years.

The years from 1865 to 1869 were chiefly spent, North and South, in recovering from the events of the war. The North had the best opportunity, as it had felt the actual horrors less, and war had stimulated trade. There was a foreign demand for wheat; and after the war there was a great emigration of ex-soldiers to Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. Early in the sixties Congress passed the Homestead law, giving public lands to those who improved them for five years. Ex-soldiers were given much better terms. Congress passed laws giving pensions to the widows, orphans, and wounded, but they were moderate compared with later legislation. There was another great spurt in railway building all over the country, and the trans-continental railway from Omaha to San Francisco was finally completed by Government aid. There arose a scandal out of this railway, which will be dealt with later.

In the South the struggle for existence was a hard one for some time, due in a large measure to the absence of any currency. All the Confederate scrip was worthless, and of gold and silver there was none. In order to supply demands currency was drawn from the North, which diminished the supply there, made money rates high and retarded development. During this period greenbacks were being retired from circulation, while National Bank notes were fixed at a maximum which was

not removed for many years. In spite of the hardships of the war and political excitement the South gradually prospered. Cotton was in demand, for which money could be gotten at once. The negro question was perhaps the most important problem to solve. If Johnson's plan had been carried out there might have been less friction than afterward arose, but trouble was sure to result. Many negroes, during the last two years of the war, left the plantations, followed the army, and, at the close of the war, were collected in the cities. When the negroes learned that freedom was gained, some were wise enough to remain quietly on the plantations, earning a living, but many, intoxicated with freedom, believing that the Government was going to give them "forty acres and a mule," refused to work for their old masters. When negroes were admitted to the franchise and controlled elections in favor of their own race or of "carpet baggers," the intelligent white people refused, when possible, to abide by such a condition. When the army was withdrawn they manipulated elections to elect white persons to office, and finally passed laws, in many States, which practically disfranchised the negro. As a matter of fact, the negro now stands, in the South, politically about where he did in 1865, when Johnson set up the Provisional Governments. While the proportion of votes to population is less in the South than in the North, the South gained by the war one great political advantage that has often been overlooked. Formerly only three-fifths of the negroes were counted in the enumeration for Congressional districts, but none were allowed to vote. At present all the negroes are counted, but in most States few vote, and in only occasional instances are they a real factor in elections; so that the South has a larger representation in Congress and the

Electoral College than before the war, while the whites are in almost exclusive control. The total vote of South Carolina in November, 1898, was only 28,000. There were few Congressional districts in the North where the vote was not much larger than this. This is cited to show that, however well intended, the Reconstruction legislation did not accomplish what was expected of it. Whether the legislation was wise or not is entirely another question, but thirty-four years after the Civil War ended, the negro question was far from settled. There is no longer a slavery problem, but the race problem is one of vast importance.

One event in Johnson's administration must not be overlooked. In 1867, by a treaty with Russia, we purchased Alaska for $7,500,000. There was great opposition to the purchase, but time has justified it. There is a story current to the effect that this alleged purchase was merely a blind to repay Russia for fitting out her fleet ready to interfere on our side if France and Great Britain came to the aid of the Confederacy. The story is not confirmed, but it is certain that Russia was our firm friend all through the war.

General Grant came to the Presidency an untried man. The only man with less political experience who has occupied the chair was Zachary Taylor. The latter left his chief appointments largely to a little coterie of friends, while Grant was his own mentor. With all his many virtues, General Grant was conspicuously weak in his judgment of other men. Simple hearted, honest, and straight forward himself, he could not see for himself the faults of men around him, nor would he until the last moment, believe the testimony of others. He stuck to his friends, who often betrayed his confidence. He chose for his Cabinet: Hamilton Fish, of New

York, Secretary of State; George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Treasury; William W. Belknap, of Iowa, Secretary of War; George M. Robeson, of New Jersey, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General; John A. J. Cresswell, of Maryland, Postmaster-General.

The chief missions were thus distributed: John Lothrop Motley, to Great Britain; Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, to Russia; Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, to France; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, to Prussia; John Jay, of New York, to Austria, and General Daniel E. Sickles, of New York, to Spain. A. E. Borie was in the Cabinet for a short time as Secretary of the Navy, but soon resigned. Mr. Washburne was made Secretary of State for a few days simply to give him prestige, and was sent as Minister to France. Alexander Stewart, the merchant prince of New York, was originally nominated for Secretary of the Treasury, but was discovered to be ineligible because an importer. Of the original Cabinet Fish alone served through both of Grant's administrations. Hoar and Cox resigned because they differed from the President's policy. Belknap was impeached for corruption in connection with contracts, but resigned before trial. The Senate acquitted him on the ground that it had no jurisdiction. Boutwell, Robeson, Belknap, and Cresswell served through the first term, but there were many changes during the second.

The Congress that met in December, 1869, was a very different body from that which grappled with the Compromises twenty years before. The sole member of the former Senate who sat in that of 1869 was Hamlin, of Maine, an ex-Vice-President. Of the Senators in

1869 only one (Stewart, of Nevada), was a member thirty years later, though three members of the House of 1869 were in the Senate in January, 1899. Not one Representative remained. The changes in the South were remarkable. From the late Confederate States was a solid delegation of Republicans; Georgia, Texas, Mississippi, and Virginia not being represented. In a few years these were retired and an almost solid Democratic delegation took their places, but not until Bruce, of Louisiana, and Revell, of Mississippi, both of African blood, had held seats in that body, where they had been so often proclaimed as mere chattels by human law and Divine sanction. The most noteworthy survivors of this Senate are John Sherman, George F. Edmunds, and William Pitt Kellogg. Senator Morrill, of Vermont, died in December, 1898, after the longest continuous Congressional career in our history, even outranking Benton's thirty years in the Senate. In making appointments Grant had a strong predilection for his old companions in arms, as was natural. He tried to get some of the late Confederate officers to accept the new order of things, and offered them places, but few accepted. The South was feeling bitter over the Reconstruction measures. Unfortunately for the spirit of reconciliation there grew up an organization of more or less coherence, known as the "Ku Klux Klan." This was composed of adventurous spirits, usually from the lower grades of society, who began a career of brigandage and terror that was horrible. Their vengeance was wreaked principally on negro politicians and white men who affiliated with them. Murder and arson were frequent in many parts of the South, in spite of the efforts for repression. The men raided by night, usually disguised; and, while the better classes objected to their acts, few were

brought to justice. It was one of the results of the war. This outrageous treatment the more stirred up prejudice against the South, and in Congress and out the debates were angry and bitter. It was necessary that a generation should pass away before genuine harmony was restored. In the meantime Grant declared martial law in some parts of the South, and the army was used to put down lawlessness, in accordance with the so-called force bills of 1870 and 1871. If before the war, the Southern leaders by unwise action injured the cause of slavery, they made their own position worse when slavery was no more.

When Grant took office foreign affairs were far from satisfactory. We had a number of unsettled disputes with Great Britain, besides a claim of damages by reason of the three Confederate cruisers which had been built in her shipyards and allowed to sail away in spite of repeated warnings as to their true character. In France the mutterings of the war with Prussia were heard, while our relations with Spain were again delicate. A revolution broke out in Cuba in 1868, which lasted ten years. A recent revolution in Spain had driven Isabella from the throne and an interregnum existed. There was unrest in Spain, which made it difficult to suppress the disorders in Cuba. This revolution was important to us because we had a large trade with Cuba and the island lay at our doors. American capital was invested in the island and on slight pretexts property had been confiscated. Grant was at one time minded to recognize the insurgents, but, finding that neither England nor France would do so, desisted. Later on he negotiated a treaty for the purchase of the Island of San Domingo, but the Senate refused to ratify it. This refusal is generally believed to have been a mistake, due principally to Senator

Sumner. There was a belief current that friends of Grant were preparing to make enormous sums of money out of the transfer, and this had some effect in defeating the treaty. Grant's idea was that the freedmen might be settled on the island and become prosperous, as it is one of the richest spots on earth. Also a treaty was made with Denmark for the purchase of the Island of St. Thomas, east of Porto Rico, containing a magnificent harbor. This also was not ratified, most unfortunately. The possession of St. Thomas in 1898 would have been almost invaluable from a strategic point of view. Our relations with Great Britain were serious and took some time to settle. By the Treaty of Washington, in 1871, a few of the matters were directly settled and the rest were left to arbitration. The question of the boundary line in the extreme Northwest, involving a few islands in Puget Sound, was decided by the Emperor of Germany in our favor. At a later time (1877) the claim of Canada against this country for violating the rules as to fishing on her coasts was decided against us, and we paid $5,500,000 damages. But the greatest matter at issue was over our claims against Great Britain for damages due to the depredations of the Alabama, Florida, and Shenandoah, commonly called "the Alabama claims." Our claim was that Great Britain was responsible for allowing these vessels to be built in her harbors when warned of their character, and that she should pay for all the damage they caused. These were referred to a mixed tribunal as follows: Sir Alexander Cockburn, appointed by the Queen; Charles Francis Adams, appointed by President Grant; Count Frederick Sclopis, appointed by the King of Italy; M. Jacques Staempfli, appointed by the President of the Swiss Confederation, and Viscount d'Itajuba, appointed by the Emperor of Brazil. The

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CUSTER'S LAST STAND AND DEATH

court met at Geneva, Switzerland, December 15, 1871, and the sessions lasted almost a year. Able counsel were retained on both sides and the testimony taken was elaborate and minute. The court decided to consider only actual and not contingent damages. The total claims were enormous, but the court (Sir Alexander Cockburn alone dissenting), on September 14, 1872, awarded the United States the sum of $15,500,000 damages, which was duly paid and turned over to actual claimants, as their damages were proved—a process that took many years. Another result of this Treaty of Washington was the agreement between the two nations to be more careful hereafter in allowing such vessels to be built or filibustering expeditions to set forth from either country in aid of any belligerent, to refuse the ports of either Nation as a base of operations against a power with which it was at peace, and in general to execute as well as declare neutrality. This policy cost the United States a great deal of money during the second Cuban revolution, and was not agreeable to the great mass of our citizens, who were friendly to the insurgents.

In spite of war and political disturbances, the decade from 1860 to 1870 was important in the commercial and scientific world. For years an attempt had been made to lay a Transatlantic cable, due chiefly to the energy of Cyrus W. Field, of New York. One cable was laid shortly before the war, after many disappointments. It worked a short time and then failed, due to imperfections in construction. The war hindered operations, but, as soon as it was over, the Great Eastern was used to lay a new and larger cable. Unfortunately the cable broke in mid ocean. Not daunted, a new cable was made and successfully laid, while the broken one was

spliced and completed, making two lines. This was a success, and cables now reach nearly every part of the civilized world. The importance of instantaneous communication between all civilized centers in the world is not to be overestimated, and it is particularly gratifying that this country invented the telegraph, the ocean cable, and later the telephone. These three great labor-saving inventions have reduced the civilized world practically to the size of a county of Massachusetts in 1800. Instant communication has absolutely revolutionized business, made new social conditions possible, and has dispensed with the former snail-like movements in diplomacy. The steamboat is another American invention, and while the locomotive is an English invention, it has had its greatest development here. We have more miles of railway in the United States than the whole of Europe.

The impetus to Western emigration by reason of our liberal land laws soon became enormous. The West filled up rapidly, and railways were constructed to all parts of it, not often with great care and often at more than necessary expense, but the great event in railroad history was the completion of the first transcontinental railway. This project, suggested as far back as 1848, had been indorsed by both political parties as a necessity and the Government urged to aid it. No private capital would undertake it and the Government did not care to go into the business on its own account. As a compromise it was proposed that the Government loan 6 per cent bonds to a corporation which should build the road and give first mortgage bonds for these advances. By the act of 1862 the Government was to give $16,000 per mile, in its own bonds, and a liberal land grant. Owing to the war even this liberal offer could not be accepted by any corporation, as that part of the

line across the Rocky Mountains would be enormously expensive. In 1864 the corporation that had been formed for the work succeeded in getting Congress to double the land grant, giving half the land for ten miles on each side of the road, allowing $32,000 per mile on the more difficult sections and $48,000 per mile in the mountain sections, while taking a first mortgage lien on the road. Even this liberal offer did not attract capital to an enterprise which was believed to be, if not an engineering impossibility, at least a scheme which would be financially disastrous. This should be remembered in connection with the scandals which followed. As the work was too great for one corporation, it was divided. One company, the Central Pacific, was to build east from San Francisco and the other, the Union Pacific, west from Omaha, until they met on the line already agreed on by engineers. The western end of the work was undertaken by Leland Stanford, C. P. Huntington, Mark Hopkins, Charles Crocker, and a few others, without any knowledge of railroad construction; all being comparatively poor men. They amassed fortunes, and have been subject to much abuse, but it should be remembered that they did a work no one else would undertake, while the Nation has been greatly benefited by their enterprise.

The eastern end was constructed largely by the energy of Oakes and Oliver Ames, of Boston, who met with the greatest difficulties in getting capital to complete the forty-mile sections before Congressional aid was available. As no contractor could undertake so large a work, construction was sublet to a corporation known as "the Credit Mobilier" (borrowing a French name from similar institutions in France), which contracted for the whole work. Shares of this stock were

undoubtedly sold to Congressmen to influence their votes on the second bill granting aid to the road, and in some cases the payment was made long after delivery. At least stock, which soon became very valuable, was carried in their names, to be paid for on demand, for their benefit. This of itself was originally considered as legitimate as to own National Bank stock, which was affected by Congressional legislation. This was called "doing evil for a good purpose," but such sophistry did not avert a scandal. A committee of Congressmen, some years later, investigated the subject and Oakes Ames was recommended to be expelled; as the alleged misdemeanor was in a previous Congress, he was only censured, and died soon afterward, partly of chagrin, after doing what he felt to be a National service. Many whose names were connected with the scandal were driven from public life, though some survived it. All denied improper motives, but such excuses were not received. It is true that the road was of immense public value, that it was a strategic and commercial necessity, but it is also true that proper aid could or should have been secured without improper methods. Nevertheless posterity has been kind to Oakes Ames and has been inclined to forgive one who erred on the side of the country's good, even if he did profit by it and use bad methods.

Yankee ingenuity was taxed to its utmost in constructing this line. There were great rivers to bridge, mountain ranges to cross, and new problems to solve. The Indians were hostile, the cost of construction exceeded expectations, and finally the Union Pacific Company had to confess that it needed more help. Again the great financiers were asked to aid by taking second mortgage bonds, and they refused. In this emergency

the company again went to Congress and asked that the Government take a second lien for its money, so that first mortgage bonds could be sold in the market. It was in getting this legislation through that most of the scandals occurred. Congress assented and money was raised to complete the work. Toward the end there was an exciting race between the two companies to see which would lay the most track. The rails joined at Promontory Point, near Ogden, Utah, and on May 10, 1869, the golden spike was driven that united San Francisco and New York by rail. The occasion was made one of great festivity all over the country, and with good reason, for it not only bound East and West, but stimulated other enterprises of the same kind, until now there are half a dozen transcontinental lines, most of which received some Government aid in the way of land grants, and some in money also. The total Government cash paid for all the lines amounted to $64,633,512, but as very little interest was paid the total sum due in 1898 was several times as much. A Government commission estimated the total actual cost of the Central Pacific at $58,000,000, and the Union Pacific at $50,720,000.

One result of the building of the Transcontinental railway was the discovery that between the Missouri River and the Sierra Nevadas were some of the richest portions of the country, available for agriculture and grazing, and rich in gold, silver, and copper. These mines have produced more wealth than those of California. Moreover, the railway hastened the movement of the population westward, so that by 1870 there were a million along the line of the road, whereas in 1860 there had been but a few thousand. From 1870 to 1898 the development was rapid. Nevada was made a State,

during the Civil War (1864), for political reasons. Since the completion of the road there have been organized west of the Missouri the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington, Utah, and Colorado none of which probably would have become a State in the Nineteenth Century save for the Government aided railways. In 1898 the Union Pacific and Central Pacific mortgages fell due and were paid, as to the former principal and interest, and principal and part interest as to the latter were to be paid in the ensuing ten years. So the Government got its money back and made millions by the sale of lands, which would have been worthless had not the railroads been constructed. In spite of scandals in Congress, stock jobbing, and other reported evil doings, the country has profited largely by aiding Western railway construction. Altogether Congress voted about $120,000,000 to all the Western railways.

During Grant's administration all of the late Confederate States were reorganized and admitted to the Union; and the fifteenth amendment, giving the negro the ballot, was ratified by the requisite number of States in 1870. The negro has not profited by the ballot to the extent that was expected, and many statesmen now think the better way would have been to have allowed him the franchise gradually. During this time there were frequent collisions between whites and blacks at the polls, and the army was needed to enable the negro to vote in many places. The Indians also gave great trouble. In our settling the far West the red men objected to being forced back to reservations. Nothing in our history has been more unsuccessful or erratic than our treatment of the Indian. Sometimes we have made formal treaties with them, which were often broken;

sometimes we have forced them to retire, and at all times they have been considered our wards, yet after more than a century the Indian problem is still unsolved, and is only beginning to be handled rationally. During the war the Sioux raided Minnesota and murdered many settlers in cold blood. This uprising was put down, but there was constant friction with the wild tribes in some parts of the West. The Modoc Indians, in 1873, objected to being forced to stay on their reservation, and retired to the lava beds in Northern California, where for a long time they defied our little army. At a parley, during a truce, General Canby and others were foully murdered. The Modocs were finally conquered, and the leaders, Captain Jack, Scar-Faced Charlie, and others, were executed at Fort Klamath, October 3, 1873.

In 1876 the Sioux in Montana went on the warpath, and an army was sent to quell them. One detachment, under General Custer, came on them June 25th, at the Little Big Horn River. Though greatly outnumbered, Custer attacked, and his force was utterly destroyed. Custer and 261 officers and men were killed. One portion of his command, sent to a rear attack, partially escaped. Later on the Sioux were brought into subjection.

In 1872 there was a dispute over the elections in Louisiana, and for a time dual governments were set up, but the United States Marshal interfered with his troops, and sustained the so-called Kellogg Government. This situation continued for several years, until a compromise was effected, and eventually the Democrats got control of the State. In 1870, following a former attempt in 1866, the Fenians planned an uprising in Canada, and many men went from the United States. President Grant issued a proclamation urging the strict-

est neutrality. The uprising was easily put down. When the Franco-Prussian War broke out, Grant again declared neutrality. The German interests in Paris were left in the hands of our Minister, who successfully executed the trust. On October 8, 1871, fire broke out in Chicago which destroyed the business portion of the city, and many of the residences. The total loss was upward of $200,000,000, and over 200 persons lost their lives. In two years the city was rebuilt more substantially than ever, and in twenty years was the second in population in the country, due largely to the fact that it is the great distributing center for traffic between the East and the West. On November 9, 1872, a fire broke out in Boston, which did $80,000,000 damage to property, and in 1874 another disastrous fire visited Chicago.

On the whole, Grant's first administration was satisfactory to the people. He had been firm in preserving the peace, and liberal in his treatment of Southern people. Statesmen now believe that but for the negro question there never would have been a Solid South, but the spirit of the age was radical on both sides of the border, and the drift was directly away from harmony. The Republican Convention unanimously renominated Grant, at Chicago, in 1872, and had a contest over second place. Colfax had at first declined to run, but later changed his mind. It was too late, and Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, got the honor by a narrow majority.

The Democratic party was demoralized, and, seeing no hope of success in a straight contest, adopted an experiment that proved costly. There were many Republicans who were opposed to the policy of President Grant; they felt that he was not broad enough in his views on some subjects, particularly disliked his use

of patronage, and believed that he was tainted by the corrupt men who were about him, with whom he was on friendly terms, hence refused to support him. These, under the style, "Liberal Republican Party," met at Cincinnati, May 1, 1872, and nominated Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, for President, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice-President. The platform declared for universal amnesty, local self-government, reform in the civil service, and a return to specie payments. It opposed the use of the military in elections, further aid to railway corporations, a second term for any President, and remitted the question of protection and free trade to the Congressional districts. The Democratic Convention, at Baltimore, ratified both the platform and the nominees. Some Democrats refused to support any Republican, and nominated Charles O'Conor, of New York, for President, but he received few votes. Mr. Greeley went on a stumping tour that injured his chances. He was now an old man, and failing in his powers. It was hard for Republicans who had followed him for so many years to see him in alliance with the Democracy. There were many who had read the *Tribune* away back in the days of Whig supremacy, who had looked up to him as a guide, philosopher, and friend. Few men not active politicians have ever in this country had so wide a circle of admirers as Greeley.

Grant and Wilson were elected by overwhelming majorities. Of the electoral vote Grant had 286, to 63 for the opposition. The popular vote stood: Grant, 3,597,070; Greeley, 2,834,079. Grant's plurality, 762,-991. O'Conor had 29,408, and Black (Prohibition), 5,608.

Greeley died before the electoral vote was cast, and

the fusion votes were scattered. The House of Representatives elected stood: Republicans, 193, to 93 Opposition. The Republicans lost slightly in the Senate, but still had 49 members, to 25 Opposition. New men in the Senate were General John B. Gordon, of Georgia, now a Democratic State; William B. Allison, of Iowa; John J. Ingalls, of Kansas, who served many years. In the House, Stephens, of Georgia, returned, after a long absence, and Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, began his long career. Other new members were James Wilson and John A. Kasson, of Iowa; Julius C. Burrows and Omar D. Conger, of Michigan; Lucius Q. C. Lamar and John R. Lynch (colored), of Mississippi; Richard P. Bland, of Missouri; William Walter Phelps, of New Jersey; Stewart L. Woodford, of New York (our Minister to Spain in 1898); Thomas C. Platt, of New York; Zebulon B. Vance, of North Carolina; Roger Q. Mills, of Texas; and Eppa Hunton, of Virginia. James G. Blaine was reëlected Speaker. The Republican leaders on the floor were Dawes, of Massachusetts; James A. Garfield, of Ohio; Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, and William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania.

Surely the Republican outlook was never brighter, and the party leaders were confident of a long lease of power. They little apprehended the changes that would come in two years.

The war had given a great stimulus to industries which were fostered by a high protective tariff. Wheat was high, and there seemed to be general prosperity. Unfortunately, this prosperity stimulated overproduction in some lines of trade, increased railway construction enormously, so that in 1873 the mileage was twice what it was in 1860, and also stimulated specula-

tion in stocks, lands, and all values. The time came when the country could not bear the strain. Apparently National finances were in good shape. We had reduced the public debt by many millions, and had retired many millions of the Treasury notes, the latter being looked upon by many as having some effect on subsequent events. It is certainly true that for years business had been expanding, the currency contracting, while nearly all our gold went abroad to settle trade balances. Gold speculation was rife, and a notable attempt to corner the gold in the United States, September 24, 1869, precipitated a panic, which was only stopped by the Secretary of the Treasury selling large quantities of gold. The conspirators thought, by specious arguments, they had the Administration pledged not to sell gold. If the Administration had not come promptly to the rescue untold ruin would have resulted. This day of excitement is commonly known as "Black Friday." Jay Gould was originally in the movement, but, fearing disaster, went to the other side of the market, to the great loss of his partner, "Jim" Fiske, who was later shot by Edward Stokes. Gold during the excitement advanced about 50 points, to 163½ per cent.

The success of the line to the Pacific had stimulated capitalists to build the Northern Pacific, from Duluth to Puget's Sound. The banking firm of Jay Cooke & Co. was then about the largest in the country, and had a great reputation, because it had floated most of the Government loans during the war. Mr. Cooke undertook to finance the Northern Pacific, which was then looked upon as a wild scheme. Congress gave a land grant, but no money. The road was begun in spite of the ridicule of Proctor Knott, who, in a speech in Congress, opposing the land grant, spoke of Duluth

as "the Zenith City of the Unsalted Seas." Mr. Cooke made arrangements with some German bankers for furnishing capital, but, just before negotiations closed, the Franco-Prussian war broke out, and this made the loan impossible. Still Mr. Cooke struggled along for a time, but the load was too heavy. On September 18, 1873, the firm of Jay Cooke & Co. closed its doors, and the greatest panic in our history was precipitated. Almost everyone was in debt, most everyone had property of more or less value, but credit was absolutely shaken, and the bubble burst. Merchants, bankers, manufacturers, corporations, and individuals failed, until it seemed as if the ruin was well nigh complete.

The practical result of this disaster showed in the fall elections. The stanch Republican States of New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin went Democratic. This was not due alone to the panic. After the elections of 1872, when the Republicans seemed to be guaranteed a long lease of power, Congress undertook to rectify acknowledged absurdities in the salaries of public officials. They did not stop at this, but proceeded to vote themselves salaries of $7,500 per year each, including back pay for the entire two years of service just ended. The President was given $50,000 per year, the Vice-President, Supreme Court Justices, and Cabinet Ministers $10,000 a year each, and assistant Secretaries $6,000, all in the future. Officials of Congress were given large increases of salaries, including two years' back pay. This was a rider on an appropriation bill, and many members voted for it rather than see the bill fail. Some of the members drew back pay and covered it back into the Treasury; others kept it. While the salaries in no case were too great, action in voting back pay, on the last day of the session, dis-

gusted nearly everyone. If the increase for Congressmen had been prospective only, as it was for Government officials, there would have been less complaint. But, coming in connection with the panic, with the continual rumors of corruption of members of Congress, with the stories of the lobby that was omnipresent in behalf of war claims, and corporation grants, it created a revulsion of feeling. Many members were retired from public life at the next session. The increases were repealed, except as to the President and Supreme Court Justices, and the salaries remained at the former compensation, which in the main exists at this date (1899).

This Congress also passed an act that contained a provision little noted at the time, but which was the subject of much controversy afterward. It was necessary to rearrange our coinage laws somewhat, and in a bill for that purpose the silver dollar was dropped. This country then produced little silver, and, as our coinage rate was only 16 to 1 by weight between gold and silver, whereas the Latin Union rate was 15½ to 1, nearly all our silver dollars (of which we had only coined about 8,000,000 in our history) had gone abroad, where they were recoined at a profit. To prevent our fractional currency going the same way, we had reduced the coins to less than their proportionate weight to the dollar. This bill was discussed many times in all its features, but little objection was made to dropping the silver dollar, though the trade dollar, for use in the Chinese trade, was provided for. In the campaign of 1896 it was declared that this omission of the silver dollar was secretly connived at by foreign agents of gold standard men. The charge was as persistently denied. In any event, this issue was not raised in politics until several years after the law was passed, when enormous

deposits of silver were found in Colorado and elsewhere, so that more was provided than was needed for commercial use or for fractional currency, and the discovery was made that the silver dollar had been eliminated from our list of coins. This will be discussed more fully hereafter. In 1870 the Supreme Court had held the legal tender "greenback" to be unconstitutional, but immediately afterward there were changes in the Court, so that in December the Court decided that they were proper legal tender under the Constitution. The charge that the Court was changed to reverse the decision has since been proved untrue.

Slowly the country recovered from the effects of the panic. When Congress met in December 1873, there was a loud demand for more money. The principal act of this session was an attempt to increase the number of Treasury notes, called "greenbacks," from $356,000,000 to $400,000,000 (the maximum had once been $450,000,000), to increase the total amount of National Bank issues, and reduce the required reserves at National Banks. This measure, known as the Inflation Bill, or "Rag Baby," was vetoed by the President. A compromise measure was passed, relieving the banks somewhat, but fixing $382,000,000 as the maximum of greenbacks, no part of which was to be held in reserve.

There was great indignation on the part of some people over the President's veto, and out of this discontent grew up the National Greenback party, on the idea that the Government's credit was practically unlimited, and that Treasury notes should be issued up to the limit. To it succeeded the People's Party and Farmers' Alliance of later years.

When the fall elections of 1874 came on the Republican party found the struggle going against them. In

those days Ohio and Indiana had their State elections in October, and the results in these States were looked upon as foretelling the general result in November. The indications were not propitious, and the Democrats carried the November elections by a perfect landslide, almost reversing the former positions of the two parties in the lower House of Congress. There were 168 Democrats, 108 Republicans, and 14 Liberal Republicans. In the Senate the Republicans held their own for the present, having 42 members, to 29 Democrats, and two Independents, with one vacancy. From the late Confederate States there were only seventeen Republicans elected to the House of Representatives. Of all the Republicans, only sixty-two had sat in the previous Congress, and many of the great party leaders met defeat. Blaine, Kelley, Hoar, Conger, Wheeler, of New York, and Platt were the chief leaders who survived the storm. Of the 168 Democrats, only 53 were men who had been in the previous Congress, but many of the new members were destined to become prominent in party councils and National affairs. From the South many of the Democratic members had been officers in the Confederate army, and hence arose the cry about "the Rebel Brigadiers" being "again in the saddle."

The Republicans now hurried through what legislation they could while they held the power. On January 14, 1875, the Resumption Act became a law. This provided that the Treasury should resume specie payments—that is, redeem the greenbacks in coin—on and after January 1, 1879. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to sell, at not less than par, enough bonds to provide the necessary coin, all of which was supposed to be gold, as the silver dollar was no longer coined. It also pledged the National debt, principal

and interest, to be paid in coin. In 1870 Congress had provided for refunding the National debt as the bonds came due, at a lower rate of interest. This process has continued to the present time.

Congress also passed the Civil Rights Bill, in amplification of an act passed in Johnson's administration over his head, which was designed to give the negro every privilege and immunity enjoyed by a white person. It was specially championed by Senator Sumner, but years afterward was declared unconstitutional. Congress also provided for erecting Colorado into a State, which was duly admitted in 1876.

The setback received by the Republican party in 1874 did not discourage the leaders, who were confident of success in 1876. There was a struggle for the nomination, which proved to be the severest in the party's history up to that time. The two leading aspirants were ex-Speaker James G. Blaine and Senator Roscoe Conkling, of New York. The men were personal and political rivals. Both served in the House together, and on one occasion Mr. Conkling reflected upon the official conduct of an army officer who was a personal friend of Blaine's. An angry colloquy between the two men followed, in which language was used that was extremely personal. In spite of the efforts of mutual friends, the breech thus created never healed, but widened, and the Republican party suffered for it later on. It was soon evident that Blaine had the largest number of delegates, but he could not count on a majority. Pennsylvania supported Governor John F. Hartranft. Benjamin Bristow, of Kentucky, and Senator Morton, of Indiana, had followers, while Ohio offered General Hayes, thrice Governor, as a candidate. The Convention met at Cincinnati in June, and lasted some

days. Blaine led in the balloting, and grew steadily. It is believed he could have been nominated, but a hastily called conference resulted in combinations by which General Rutherford B. Hayes was chosen. But for the quarrel between Conkling and Blaine, the latter would undoubtedly have won. William A. Wheeler, of New York, got second honors. The platform indorsed Grant's administration, declared for paying the public debt in coin, and for protection, denounced the Democracy for its position on financial questions, and upbraided it for sending ex-Confederate officers to Congress. Secretary Bristow's favor came from the fact that he had successfully put down the Whisky Ring in the West, which, by corruption, had escaped payment of the full taxes on whisky. General Grant demanded that no guilty man should escape. Several convictions were made, but Grant's Secretary, O. E. Babcock, was acquitted, and resigned. Bristow's courageous action made him enemies in the ring, friends among the people, but knowledge of the frauds injured the Republican party.

The Democratic Convention met a few days later in St. Louis, and nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, as standard bearers. Governor Tilden had made a reputation in New York by his services in cleaning out the Tweed ring in New York City, and as Governor of the State. William M. Tweed had gained control of the city, and finally of the Democratic machinery of the State. He defrauded the taxpayers out of millions, and was brought to book by Tilden and other honest men of New York City. He was jailed, escaped, and went to Spain, but was recaptured, and died in Ludlow Street jail in 1878. The platform denounced the Repub-

lican party for its financial policy, opposed protection, and declared for reform in nearly every part of the government. Indeed, reform was the keynote of the platform.

The National Greenback party appeared on the scene and nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, on a platform demanding a repeal of the Resumption act, declaring against National Bank notes, and in favor of Government Notes, convertible into 3.65 per cent bonds, being made the legal tender of the Nation. The Prohibition party, with a long list of reforms, aside from the liquor issue, nominated Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, and Gideon T. Stewart, of Ohio.

The contest which followed was an exciting one. The Democratic party fought hard for its platform of reform and its candidate, while the Republicans were as vigorous for General Hayes, who had been a good officer in the war. It was soon seen that the result depended on the recently reconstructed States. These had been gradually slipping from Republican control. The Republicans claimed that negro voters were intimidated, that the whites had secured control of the election officers, that returns were falsified, and that dishonest elections had cost them control. The Democrats said that the negroes did not care to vote, except as incited to do so, that the Republican Legislatures had been corrupt, and that the State debts were so great the people could not pay them. It was claimed that for much of this debt no benefit to the State had accrued, but it had been squandered lavishly. Troops were concentrated in those parts of the South where trouble was expected, but comparatively few of all the polling districts were thus protected.

The returns on the night of election indicated that Tilden had been elected. So certain did this seem that the first issue of the New York Times, then the leading Republican newspaper of the country, said the result was in grave doubt, and its news indicated Republican defeat. After the edition had gone to press, Mark H. Barnum, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, sent a note to the news editor of the Times, asking what returns he had from South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon. The editor at once saw that the Democratic Committee did not claim the election. He saw that there was doubt on both sides. Tilden had certainly carried States with an aggregate of 184 electoral votes, only one less than was necessary to elect. The presses were stopped, the Republican claim was made for all the doubtful States, giving Hayes 185 votes, the exact number necessary to elect. One of the staff of the Times hurried to the hotel of Senator Zachariah Chandler, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, explained the situation, and telegrams were sent to Republican leaders in the three doubtful Southern States to watch out for the interests of the party, as the result depended on the votes of those three States. For several days there was great excitement in the North, and when it was known that there would be disputes over the returns in the three doubtful States, prominent men of both parties hurried to Charleston, Tallahassee, and New Orleans, to protect the party interests. In each of these States the machinery was in the hands of the Republicans; in each, a majority of the Returning Board, which canvassed the county returns, was controlled by Republicans. There were charges of fraud in many counties, as well as technical violations of the law. The Democrats

claimed that the duties of the Returning Boards were purely ministerial, and all they could do was to tabulate the votes as sent in by the counties. As this would have given at least two States to the Democrats, Republicans replied that the Returning Boards were to be judges of the regularity of elections. Days passed, and the excitement grew more intense. There was talk of fraud, of Returning Boards being bought or offering to sell, and that the prominent men at the various capitals were in schemes to help party ends. In the end the majority of all three State Returning Boards gave certificates to the Hayes electors, and the minority members gave the Tilden electors certificates also. In Oregon, where there was a Democratic Governor, the election of one Hayes elector was contested on the ground that he was ineligible because he held a Federal office. The Secretary of State sustained this objection, and granted a certificate to the Democrat, who chose two other Democratic electors, and the Governor gave them certificates. The Republicans sent in the certificates of all three men on their ticket.

When Congress met in December there was great excitement. Party feeling ran high, and there were many wordy encounters over the election. Thoughtful men were anxious to avoid a crisis, but for a long time no way seemed open. The difficulty was this: There were two sets of votes from four States. If Tilden got one of those votes, he would win. Now, the Constitution had not anticipated such a contingency, and had made no provision for it. All the Constitution said was that the Houses of Congress should meet in joint session, and the President of the Senate should open all the certificates, "and the votes shall then be counted." But by whom? The whole controversy

ranged around what was meant by the word "counted." If the President of the Senate was to be sole judge of the validity of votes, the Republicans would win, for this officer was a Republican. The Democrats said that the President of the Senate was not a judge, and merely acted as a clerk in calling out the vote. To sustain these two opposing views, each party cited all the precedents it could find, but conservative men admitted there was no way provided by existing law for settling such a contest, and that the only way out of the difficulty was to enact legislation to fit the occasion. This did not suit the radical men of either party, who were cocksure their candidate had won, and wished to take no chances. The Democrats held that the only alternative was for the House to elect the President and Vice-President, as there would be no election by electors unless some decision was made as to their validity in contested cases before counting. Republicans said that the House could only elect in case no one received a majority of electoral votes, regardless of contests. It was hinted that Grant would only give up his seat to someone declared elected in a legal manner. This forced new legislation. Select committees of the House and Senate conferred together, and finally a bill was prepared to meet the issue, which was largely the work of Senator Edmunds, of Vermont.

This bill provided for an Electoral Commission of fifteen to decide all contested cases. It was to consist of five Senators, five members of the House, and five Justices of the Supreme Court. Four of these Justices were named by their districts in the bill, being two Democrats and two Republicans, and they were to choose a fifth Justice, who, it was generally understood, would be David Davis, of Illinois, a former Republican, but

now an Independent. Three Senators, it was privately agreed, should be Republicans, and two Democrats, while three members of the House should be Democrats, and two Republicans. The plan provided for seven Republicans, seven Democrats, and a fifteenth man, who was to be as independent as possible.

The bill found general favor with the Democrats, because, from their knowledge of Justice Davis' political career, they did not believe he would decide all four cases in one way, and the gain of a single vote meant victory for them. On the other hand, for this very reason, and because they felt that they had the situation in their own hands as it was, a majority of the Republicans were opposed to the measure.

Senator Edmunds led the fight for the bill in the Senate. It was as impartial a bill as any that could possibly be devised by man. There were many on both sides of the chamber who did not like the plan, but it at least had the merit that it would settle the question and elect someone President, whereas, if nothing was done, there was a prospect of anarchy, and perhaps a civil war. In general the Democrats supported the measure, and Republicans opposed it, until an unexpected event happened. The Illinois Legislature had been struggling to elect a United States Senator, but neither party had a majority on joint ballot, a few Independents holding the balance of power. The latter finally joined the Democrats and elected Justice Davis to the Senate, who immediately resigned his seat, and, of course, could not sit on the Commission. This altered the situation, for the only other man available was Justice Bradley, of New Jersey, a Republican of independent leanings, whose decisions on his Circuit in the South had pleased the Southern people. Some

Democrats were chary of him, however, and now their enthusiasm for the bill began to lag, while Republicans began to think more favorably of the bill. However, as so many were on record, the changes were probably not very numerous. The Senate passed the bill January 25, 1877; 47 yeas to 17 nays. The yeas consisted of 26 Democrats and 21 Republicans; the nays of 1 Democrat and 16 Republicans. The House passed the bill, on the next day but one, by a vote of 191 yeas to 86 nays. Of the yeas 160 were Democrats and 31 Republicans; of the nays 17 were Democrats and 69 Republicans, and it became a law on the 29th. In both Houses together, 186 Democrats voted for the bill and 18 against it, while 52 Republicans voted in favor, and 85 against it, making it a decidedly Democratic measure. The Commission was appointed next day, as follows:

Senators Edmunds, Morton, Frelinghuysen, Republicans; Thurman and Bayard, Democrats.

Representatives Payne, Hunton, Abbott, Democrats; Garfield and Hoar, Republicans.

Justices Clifford and Strong, Republicans; Miller and Field, Democrats—who chose Justice Bradley as the fifteenth member, who was the one who decided every contest.

Beautiful as was the theory that these men who stood as high as any men in the country for honesty and probity could view the subject without prejudice, it was not so in fact. As one Congressman remarked, "there was a great deal of human nature in Washington that year." If there had been time and it had been possible to get at the whole truth in each contest, the division might not have been along party lines. As it was each member was willing to give his party the benefit of the doubt, if there was any in his mind. The bill provided that the count

should proceed regularly until a contested State was reached, when the contest was to be sent to the Commission, whose findings were to stand unless rejected by both Houses separately. As the Senate was Republican and the House Democratic, this last contingency was not likely to arise.

Accordingly the count began as provided by law on February 2; Senator Ferry, of Michigan, President pro tem. of the Senate, presiding over the joint session in place of Vice-President Wilson, who had died. All went smoothly until Florida was reached, when all the papers in the contest went to the Commission. It took a week to decide the case; and, after deciding not to go behind the returns, the Commission, by a vote of 8 to 7, decided in favor of the Hayes electors; Justice Bradley voting with the Republicans. This was a great disappointment to the Democrats, but the count went on. It was not until the 20th that Louisiana was also counted for Hayes. Oregon was counted for Hayes on the 24th, the issue here being different from that in the Southern States and depending only on the eligibility of a Republican elector. It should be said that the principles laid down by the majority in these contested cases were not entirely consistent and it was directly charged that the legal ground was shifted each time to elect the Republicans. This caused much unfavorable comment. Even on February 28 South Carolina had not been counted and Congress must adjourn on March 3, as the 4th fell on Sunday. Many Democrats, finding the situation going against them, wanted to filibuster and delay so as to have no election and then have the House proceed to an election on its own account. That the count of the vote was completed and untold evils prevented was due alone to the firmness and patriotism of the Speaker, Samuel J. Ran-

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dall, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Randall was an ardent Democrat, a warm partisan, who personally believed that Tilden had been elected; but as Speaker he resolved to see the Electoral Commission Bill carried through to the end and some one declared President. In those days the rules of the House permitted almost unlimited filibustering by making motions and demanding roll calls which consumed much time. Seeing the drift of some Democrats who were resolved to prevent any action whatever, Speaker Randall finally declined to entertain any dilatory motions whatever. In this he did violence to the rules of the House, but he did so on the following grounds in refusing, on February 24, to entertain a dilatory motion:

"The Chair rules that when the Constitution of the United States directs anything to be done or when the law under the Constitution of the United States, enacted in obedience thereto, directs any act by this House, it is not in order to make any motion to obstruct or impede that injunction of the Constitution and the laws."

This was a new doctrine, a "higher law," so to speak, but the Speaker held his ground and for a few days there was comparative order. Then on February 28, an appeal was made from his decision and the Speaker refused to entertain it. A scene of confusion followed but the Speaker won. The crisis now came on over South Carolina. The Democrats made their last principal stand on this State, for though there were other contests over eligibility of electors undoubtedly chosen, nothing was expected of them. The Congressional Record of March 1 is one of the most interesting in the whole history of Congress. The House was in session from 10 a. m. until 4 a. m. the next day. The filibustering tactics were renewed to prevent the joint session meeting at all to complete the count. Motions were made to adjourn, to take a recess,

but they were not entertained. Appeals were taken and not entertained. The Speaker was called a despot, a tyrant, an oppressor, but he never flinched. Worst of all were the insinuations that he was actuated by improper motives, but he was firm. In answer to all questions he simply restated his former position. For hours there was bedlam let loose in the House until the Speaker sent officers to clear the floor and make the members take their seats. The Speaker finally won, the House met the Senate in joint session and the count was completed. If the majority in the House could have had its own way by repeated adjournments, the joint session and the final count would have been prevented. And so at ten minutes past 4 a. m., March 2, Hayes and Wheeler were declared duly elected and the contest was over.

There was almost unanimous dissatisfaction with the verdict in the Democratic party. No Democrat believed the Republicans on the Commission had decided the contests fairly and without prejudice. Indeed it is doubtful if, under such circumstances, men could have been unprejudiced and non-partisan. It was too much to expect of human nature. There were threats of Civil War. Tilden was urged to take the oath of office and try to take his seat. He refused to take any such revolutionary step. Had he done so, Civil War might once more have broken out. Better counsels in the party prevailed for many reasons. In the first place, no matter how much fraud was claimed in the original count or partisanship in the Electoral College, particularly with reference to Justice Bradley, the Commission had acted within its powers. In the second place, the law was more a Democratic than Republican measure as the vote on it shows; and, though Democrats expected to become the beneficiaries under it, they could not with justice com-

plain now that they were beaten. But, more than all else, the Nation had recently passed through a Civil War and was in no mood for another, especially as General Grant was President, in command of the army, and it was known he would not surrender his seat to one not, in his opinion, lawfully entitled to it. The "Great Fraud" was an issue in politics for many years. Probably the present condition of the Republican mind can best be expressed by one of its leaders: "Tilden was legally, but not fairly elected." Surely on the face of the returns Tilden was chosen. Into the anterior questions this narrative cannot go. As finally reported the vote stood: Hayes, 4,033,950; Tilden, 4,284,885; Cooper, 81,740; Smith, 9,522; scattering, 2,636.

To continue this subject to its conclusion, the next House of Representatives, still Democratic, appointed a Committee to investigate the matter. The Committee visited the various States, took a great deal of testimony, and reported that Tilden should have been seated. The Republican members held to their party's view of the matter. Other committees investigated various phases of the question but of course these had no bearing on the actual result. One Republican member of conservative views has said that there was so much fraud on both sides in the three contested States that it was impossible to say which set of electors were really chosen.

While the investigation was in progress, the New York Tribune published a lot of cipher telegrams, which, according to its own translations, showed that a conspiracy was in progress on the part of leading Democrats, during the excitement in November, to purchase the electoral vote of one of the States, and it was held that Tilden was privy to it. Another investigation was held and Mr. Tilden testified at length on the subject, saying that his only

knowledge on the subject was that, one day soon after the election, he was informed that his nephew, Colonel Pelton, a member of his own household, had gone to Baltimore to consider a proposal from a representative of the Returning Board in a contested State to sell out the certificates of electors to the Democratic National Committee. He (Tilden) at once vetoed the matter and ordered Colonel Pelton home. This was his sole knowledge of the affair. The Republicans claimed that enormous sums were offered by Democrats for the certificates but were refused by the Returning Boards. The Democrats claimed that the offer to sell was made but that the Republicans bought the votes with money and offices, citing telegrams supposed to indicate this, and also the fact that most of the Republicans in the contested States, who were on Returning Boards or connected with the count, received offices at the hand of President Hayes. They also pointed out the fact that, in each of the three States involved, the Democratic candidates for State offices were seated and that, in his case, Democratic electors must also have been elected. It has been broadly hinted that in the States involved there was a deal by which the Democrats got the State offices and the Republicans the presidential electors. Certain it is that the Democrats were anxious to get control of the States and they did so, since when the Republicans have never been in control of any one of them. The Democratic Legislatures repealed many of the acts of former Legislatures, repudiated much of the debt created, and established a system by which the fear of negro domination was at an end. These are briefly the facts connected with a contest which is without precedent in our annals. Volumes have been written on the subject, but opinion is still largely dominated by partisan

bias, and conservatives on both sides hold that the exact right of the matter will never be known.

The Republicans in South Carolina and Louisiana expected government aid to seat their candidates for State officers, whom they claimed to have elected. There were for a time dual governments but the Republicans finally gave up. The army has not since been used to preserve order at the polls in any State of the Union.

In the last year of Grant's term was held the exhibition at Philadelphia, to celebrate the centennial of American liberty. Philadelphia was selected because the Declaration of Independence was signed there. It was by far the greatest world's fair that had been held up to that time. The city set aside a large portion of Fairmount Park for the purpose, and here were erected six large buildings and hundreds of smaller ones. The expense was borne largely by local enterprise, but the Government loaned $1,500,000, which was repaid. The total expense was $8,500,000, part of which was defrayed by the city, and part by the State. The rest was raised by subscription to stock in the enterprise, a portion of which was repaid. The total number of visitors was just under 10,000,000, and the largest on any one day was 274,919. The exposition was open from May 10 to November 10, except Sundays, a total of 159 days. It was opened with appropriate ceremonies by President Grant and Emperor Dom Pedro, of Brazil.

The exhibits came from all parts of the world, and for the first time in our history our people had an opportunity to compare their own products with those of other Nations. The visitors likewise came from all over the world, and the result was most gratifying. While it was discovered that in the useful arts, particularly in

machinery, our own country was in the lead, it was found that in the decorative arts we were far in the rear. It is impossible to estimate the value of this exhibition upon the refinement and culture of the great masses of the people. Hitherto most of our energies had been directed toward getting the necessaries and comforts of life and developing our great resources; there was a natural pride over our accomplishments in many walks of life that led us to underestimate the rest of the world; but when the people beheld what the older Nations accomplished, their respect grew, and many valuable lessons were learned. The decoration of homes has proceeded rapidly since that time, and the uses of color have been extended. Our artists and artisans got new ideas, and originality was stimulated, so that our fabrics and artistic designs of all kinds are in most cases equal to any in the world, and very often far superior. It is in teaching such lessons as these, and in educating those who have few advantages of travel, that such exhibitions are of the highest value.

Rutherford B. Hayes came to the Presidency under circumstances different from those of any other man who has held the position. In the opinion of about half of the people he had no moral right to the chair he occupied, though Congress had conferred the title upon him. Under such circumstances it required rare tact and ability to so manage affairs as to preserve the respect of the public. By reason of his clouded title, Mr. Hayes was much underestimated by his opponents, but history has done him more justice. He was a man of good abilities, of irreproachable character, and more determination than his enemies gave him credit for. Resolving not to be a candidate for reëlection, he strove to calm the passions that had been aroused over the election.

He gave the country a clean, conservative administration, where a man of less tact might have done great harm. His Cabinet was one of the ablest that has been gathered around any President. Originally it stood: William M. Evarts, of New York, Secretary of State; John Sherman, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary, of Iowa, Secretary of War; Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, Secretary of the Navy; Carl Schurz, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; David M. Key, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; Charles Devens, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General. Mr. Key was a Democrat, chosen by Mr. Hayes according to a plan made when he was nominated, to secure sectional harmony. Hayes' diplomatic appointments were exceptionally good, including such men as James Russell Lowell, Andrew D. White, John Welsh, John W. Foster, John A. Kasson, and Horace Maynard. He made the first serious effort toward civil service reform by restricting the offensive partisanship of Federal employés and forbidding them to take active part in political caucuses and conventions. Both he and his wife were members of the Methodist Church, and neither of them allowed the use of wine or intoxicating liquors at the White House, even on state occasions, which caused unfriendly comment from foreigners.

The Forty-fifth Congress, which met in December, 1877, was once more divided. The Senate was still Republican by the narrow majority of three over the Democrats, not counting David Davis, who ranked as an Independent. The House contained 153 Democrats and 140 Republicans, with Randall again Speaker. From the former slave States there were but thirteen Republicans, and from the ex-Confederate States only eight. Thus the South was practically solid for the

Democracy. Aside from the railway strike of 1877, to be described later, the country had quiet throughout the administration. Radical legislation of any kind was impossible, with the House and Senate of different political faith, but there were angry debates, in which sectionalism was conspicuous. Republicans were taunted with having a fraudulent President, while the Democracy was called the party of secession. It was long before the ill-feeling engendered in these debates died away.

The debates were not all on party lines. By this time rich silver mines had been discovered in Colorado and elsewhere, which more than supplied the ordinary demands of commerce. Since the Latin Union in Europe, as well as this country, had ceased to coin legal tender silver dollars, there was an agitation started to restore silver to its former legal tender status. It was claimed that the action of 1873 was inadvertent, even that it was surreptitiously and fraudulently procured. A bill, prepared by Bland, of Missouri, restoring the silver dollar to our list of coins, and making it legal tender, passed the House, and met with opposition in the Senate. In 1875 Congress had passed a resolution pledging the payment of our National bonds in coin, both as to principal and interest, which then meant gold, as silver was used only as fractional currency. This had enabled the Secretaries of the Treasury to refund outstanding bonds at a lower rate of interest. As silver was "coin," the bonds under the proposed act could be paid in silver. The objection to this was that silver had fallen in price compared with gold, so that the ratio was no longer 16 to 1, as formerly, but about 17 or 18 to 1. The friends of silver claimed that the former ratio would be restored as soon as the bill was

passed. Inasmuch as silver was being mined on a scale heretofore unheard of, the Senate declined to go to the full length of the Bland bill, but a substitute prepared by Senator Allison was adopted, by which the Secretary of the Treasury should buy, at the market price, from $2,000,000 to $4,000,000 worth of silver each month and coin it into silver dollars, which should be legal tender for all debts, and at the same time $10 silver certificates were authorized to be issued on deposit of the silver dollars. An international conference to remonetize silver was provided for, but Europe failed to act as we desired. President Hayes vetoed this bill, but it was immediately passed over his head and became a law, without, however, accomplishing all that was expected of it. Congress also passed a law forbidding the cancellation of any more Treasury notes, but declaring that when redeemed they should be reissued. It should be remembered that at this time specie payments had not been resumed, and the "endless chain" had not begun to work. The National Bankrupt Act was repealed, the public land laws altered so as to encourage the planting of trees on the Western prairies, while homesteaders whose crops were destroyed by the plague of grasshoppers were given time to prove their claims.

The fall elections of 1878 showed, on the whole, a gain for the Democracy. The House of Representatives chosen contained 130 Republicans, 149 Democrats, and 14 Nationals, or Greenbackers, of whom 5 were Republicans on all but financial issues, and 7 Democrats, with 2 Independents. The Legislatures chosen, however, elected enough Democrats to give them control of the Senate for the first time since the outbreak of the war. It contained 42 Democrats, 33 Republicans, and one Independent.

When Congress met in December, 1878, the Democrats made an issue of allowing the army to act as a police force at the polls in the South. Although there were very few soldiers in the South, and the total army was now reduced from 50,000, as fixed after the war, to 25,000 men, it was resolved to prevent any interference with elections in future. A law to this effect was tacked on to the army appropriation bill, and as a result the bill was not passed at all, and a special session of Congress was called, which met March 18, 1879. In this session took place the memorable debate between James A. Garfield, of Ohio, Republican leader, and Joseph C. S. Blackburn, of Kentucky, Democratic leader. Garfield accused the Democrats of repeating the tactics of 1861 in another way, by trying to starve the army, who, in turn, claimed they were only legislating to furnish fair elections in the South. As both branches were now Democratic, the bill passed Congress as a rider to the Army Bill, but Congress soon afterward passed rules forbidding any general legislation from being tacked on to the appropriation bills, and requiring every amendment to any bill to be germane to the subject.

In 1877 took place the greatest railroad strike in our history. The trainmen of the Baltimore & Ohio, Pennsylvania, Erie, and New York Central railroads went on a strike against a reduction in wages and certain regulations of the corporations. They were joined by organized labor in other fields. The worst troubles were in Pennsylvania, where the militia was called out, and frequent collisions took place at Philadelphia, Scranton, Reading, and Pittsburg, but the greatest damage was done in the latter city, where a battle was fought, and $10,000,000 worth of property destroyed,

which cost the State $3,000,000. The excitement lasted from July 14 to 27, and then died down, the railways gaining their point, after about 100,000 men had closed to traffic nearly 7,000 miles of road.

To keep to this subject for a few moments, the Molly Maguires, in the coal regions of Pennsylvania, had established a reign of terror which was almost inconceivable. They murdered men, controlled elections, and nearly ruined business, until ferreted out by a detective in 1875, when the leaders were hanged and the organization broken up.

In 1877 the Kearney sand-lot riots against Chinese immigration took place, which for a time terrorized the city of San Francisco, but were put down. In the end, Congress stopped Chinese laborers from coming to this country.

In this place, for convenience sake, will be summarized some later labor troubles:

In 1884, during the flood at Cincinnati, riots took place wherein much public property was destroyed and great excitement ensued. Quiet was restored by the militia. At Homestead, Pa., in 1892, took place the great strike at the Carnegie works, wherein many persons were killed. The rioters were put down by the militia, and a Congressional investigation was held. In 1894 Coxey's army of tramps began its march from Ohio to Washington, and actually scared many public men. It was a complete fiasco. Several other such movements were undertaken. In the same year took place at Chicago the great strike against Pullman. Millions of property were destroyed, and trains were held up for days, but President Cleveland sent Federal troops, who soon restored order. Some years previous to this anarchists had raised the famous Haymarket riot at Chi-

cago, wherein several persons were killed. The ringleaders were hanged, and others imprisoned. During these years the Knights of Labor had their widest influence. This was a federation of all kinds of trades unions which at one time had an immense membership, but which of late years has declined to comparatively small numbers. Its famous leader was T. V. Powderly, a conservative man, who finally met the disapproval of the order.

In 1879 Captain James B. Eads successfully introduced his system of keeping the mouths of the Mississippi open by constructing so-called jetties, which confined the sluggish current near the mouths, and the effect of which was to increase the current, scour the bottom, carry the silt out to sea, and make navigation easy. This was a great boon to the South, for navigation had been restricted to vessels of light draught. Captain Eads was the engineer who built the great steel arch bridge over the Mississippi at St. Louis.

The crowning success of the Administration was the resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1879. A bill preparing for this had been passed four years before, though many persons believed it would be impossible to accomplish it, or even undesirable, if possible. Secretary Sherman made all preparations for this event, offering, according to law, to sell bonds for gold to furnish the Treasury so it could redeem the treasury notes on demand; $100,000,000 worth of gold being considered desirable to have on hand as a minimum. At the same time he proposed to exchange a large amount of outstanding five and six per cent bonds for new four and four and a half per cents. In order not to disturb values, arrangements were made to withdraw gold gradually from circulation. The task was so great that Mr. Sherman had some

apprehension as to the result, because of the incredulity of leading financiers and because of reported attempts to "corner" all the gold in the country. The country had, however, quite recovered from the panic of five years before, and success beyond all expectation was attained. On the first business day of 1879 more gold was deposited in the treasury to get notes than was paid out to redeem notes. In fact, for some weeks gold and paper had been practically at par. Up to this time Secretary Sherman had some difficulty in selling bonds for gold and in selling new four and a half and four per cents to replace the six and five per cents. Now the situation changed. There was a great demand for the bonds and in April a single bid was made for $150,000,000 worth, by wire, from a New York bank, and many millions by other banks. This was unprecedented in the history of finance, and the Secretary telegraphed in reply, "Are you all crazy?" But the bankers were in earnest. As a result of all these operations from March 4, 1877, to July 21, 1879, bonds were refunded to the amount of $845,345,950, effecting an annual saving in interest of over $14,000,000. This was the largest transaction of the kind on record up to that date and firmly established our credit abroad.

Another act of the Treasury Department, important by reason of later political history, was to investigate the New York Custom House, which was alleged to be run as a political machine and in direct violation of the President's Civil Service order. It was disclosed that employés were active in politics, but no fraud of any kind was discovered. Desiring to make many changes in methods, the President asked the collector and other heads to resign. They did not resign and the President sent names of other officers to succeed them, which the Senate, under the leadership of Roscoe Conkling, rejected twice.

When the Senate adjourned the President removed the Collector and appointed General Merritt in his place, who was finally confirmed by the Senate at the next session. The Collector in question was Chester A. Arthur, soon to be the fourth accidental President. That the President did not believe these officers guilty of any malfeasance he showed by offering all of them other appointments at the time their resignations were asked for, which were declined. The full results of this controversy will appear later. The scandal of the Administration which was inherited was the alleged frauds in the Star Routes, or wagon contracts for conveying mail in rural districts. It was claimed that immense frauds had been committed through the connivance of Thomas W. Brady, second assistant Postmaster-General, and Senator Stephen W. Dorsey. They were brought to trial but not convicted, and a reasonable doubt exists as to their personal guilt.

Upon his retirement from the Presidency, General Grant carried out a long cherished desire to go abroad. He sailed from Philadelphia, under the American flag, May 17, 1877, and first visited England. At first he was not warmly received by the aristocracy, partly because their sympathies had largely been with the South and because General Grant had been grossly libeled as a coarse man. It was among the working people of the North that he first was received with an enthusiasm. Thereafter his journeying through Europe was one continued ovation. He was fêted, toasted, and praised as no American before or since. His simplicity of manner, directness of speech and wisdom made him exceedingly popular. After visiting nearly every country in Europe, he sailed for the East, spending considerable time in Japan and China, where he was received with honors never granted before to foreigners. Li Hung Chang, then the actual ruler of China,

conceived a high regard for him that was mutual. This tour occupied more than two years and it was not until September 20, 1879, that he arrived in San Francisco on his way home. His tour across the continent was another series of ovations. All this came at a time when the succession to Hayes was being discussed. Some of Grant's warmest political friends brought him out as a candidate for a third term, and these were principally those Republicans not in sympathy with President Hayes. General Grant did not desire the honor, neither would he refuse to be a candidate. His warmest political friends urged him not to decline and he remained quiescent in the matter, although toward the end he was probably anxious for success. Opposition to a third term was strong, not only on general grounds but by reason of factional differences that existed in the Republican party. Blaine was once more a candidate and had many ardent supporters. John Sherman, of Ohio, had a strong following. William Windom, of Minnesota, and Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, had some followers, but the Grant contingent was the best led and best disciplined of all. When the National Republican Convention met in Chicago, June 2, 1880, there were about 300 delegates for Grant, led by Roscoe Conkling, John A. Logan, Donald Cameron, and other strong party leaders. There was little trouble over the platform, which enunciated Republican doctrine. The nominating speeches were of a higher order than usual. Grant was named by Conkling, Sherman by Garfield, and Blaine by Mr. Joy, of Michigan. The first ballot showed no choice, and thereafter for several days there was no important change, the average being: Grant, 304; Blaine, 284; Sherman, 93; Edmunds, 34; Washburne, 30; Windom, 10. Finally the favorite sons with the exception of Grant were dropped, and Garfield was nominated

on the thirty-sixth ballot; Grant's 306 holding firm to the last. As a consolation prize Grant's friends were allowed to name the Vice-President, and Chester A. Arthur, not long deposed as collector of New York, was selected.

General Garfield was one of the most popular men of his day. From poverty he had worked up to influence and was the leading Republican on the floor of the House. He had just been chosen to the Senate by a practically unanimous vote of the Legislature, but did not take his seat. He was a scholar but no mean politician. In his memoirs Senator Sherman complains of the insincerity of his supposed friends at Chicago, believing that he could have been nominated if proper effort had been put forth. He thinks the nomination of Garfield was not so much an accident as a design anterior to the Convention. The nomination of Garfield was well received, except among the personal following of General Grant, but as most of these were trained politicians, accustomed to party discipline and because Arthur, the close friend of Conkling, was on the ticket, there was no disposition to sulk, though for weeks there was no enthusiasm among them. In spite of Garfield's popularity at this time, which was enhanced by his tragic death, impartial historians are conservative in their estimates of him. He was impulsive and warm hearted, but the charge is made that he lacked cool judgment and was easily persuaded by others.

The Democratic Convention was held in Cincinnati. The desire to renominate Tilden was very great, but he had some time before withdrawn from the contest, on the ground of his health. Nevertheless, at Cincinnati the desire to nominate him was so strong that an intimate friend telegraphed asking him to change his mind. Tilden's reply was in the negative, but not so positive as it

might have been. Tilden's biographer believes he would have accepted had he been nominated. The leading candidates were Mr. Randall, of Pennsylvania; Henry B. Payne, of Ohio, and Senator Bayard, of Delaware. The Convention nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania, and Wm. E. English, of Indiana. The platform declared in favor of a tariff for revenue only. General Hancock was a regular army officer in command of the Department of the East. He was one of the best soldiers of the Civil War, and won the soubriquet "superb" by his hard fighting. He had been in command of the Military District which included Louisiana, during reconstruction days, and his firm rule tempered with justice had made him popular in the South to such an extent that he was removed and Sheridan put in his place. General Hancock was a plain, blunt man, of intellectual abilities, but no politician. In his letter of acceptance he said that the tariff was a "local issue," and this contributed greatly to his defeat, for the Republicans had taken strong ground in favor of protection to American industries.

After an exciting campaign, Garfield was elected, carrying every Northern State except New Jersey. The Electoral vote was: Garfield, 214; Hancock, 155. The popular vote was: Garfield, 4,449,053; Hancock, 4,442,035; Weaver, 307,306; Dow, 10,305; Phelps, 707; scattering, 989.

Weaver was the candidate of the Greenback party, whose principal tenet was more Treasury notes, the abolition of National banks, payment of Government bonds in greenbacks, and the free coinage of silver. General Neal Dow was the veteran temperance advocate of Maine, and candidate of the Prohibition party. John

W. Phelps, of Vermont, was the candidate of the American party, which was a revival of the old anti-Masonic party of generations gone by.

It is well to note here the rise of the People's, or Populist, party, which fell heir to the Greenbackers. The Patrons of Industry was a secret organization established in 1868 for the benefit of the farmers both as to disseminating knowledge and as to saving in marketing crops and purchasing supplies. It spread rapidly, but took little part in politics until a later date, when its remnants appeared in the Farmers' Alliance, which met at Ocala, Florida, and formulated a political platform, which demanded of the Government free coinage of silver, the establishment of agricultural warehouses on which the Government should loan the producers money, and many other features supposed to be in the interest of the farmer. This movement grew, and finally was organized the People's party, which in 1892 cast over 1,000,000 votes, and was largely instrumental in defeating Harrison for a second term. The party practically absorbed the Democracy in 1896, but since the defeat of Bryan there has been much discontent, and in 1898 one section of the party actually nominated Wharton Barker, of Philadelphia, a banker and newspaper publisher, for the Presidency. All these efforts of the farmers were serious, and deserve respect. If they did not accomplish their full purposes, they at least brought the subject before the public, and they have received consideration. Happily, in recent years good crops and high prices have resulted in making the third party of less importance than was at one time feared.

The story of Garfield's brief administration is one of sorrow. Few Presidents have had such pleasant prospects as loomed before Garfield, but his term of office

was one of political trouble, physical pain ending in death. Garfield chose for his Cabinet: James G. Blaine, of Maine, Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury; Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, Secretary of War; William H. Hunt, of Louisiana, Secretary of the Navy; Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, Secretary of the Interior; Thomas L. James, of New York, Postmaster-General; Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General.

Mr. Blaine had been warned that his acceptance of the Premiership would bode ill for the administration, and for his own political future—prophecies that were fulfilled.

The Senate, as usual, was convened in extra session to consider Presidential appointments. Garfield appointed Edwin A. Merritt, of New York, who was Collector of the Port of New York, as Consul-General to London, leaving the Collectorship vacant. As Vice-President Arthur had been Collector, and had been removed, and as his close friends were Senators Conkling and Platt, of New York, they were all interested in the appointment, and expected to be consulted at least. Conkling claimed to have Garfield's promise to make no nomination without first consulting the Senators. At any rate, Garfield sent in the name of W. H. Robertson, a bitter political enemy of the Senators, who had been a delegate to the Chicago Convention, and had voted for Blaine. This brought about an issue that had important results. Failing to prevent confirmation, the New York Senators resigned. They were before this angry because Mr. Levi P. Morton had not been made Secretary of the Treasury, according to what they believed was a promise. It was at the time supposed that Conkling took the lead in this matter, but it now appears that

Senator Platt acted first, and that Conkling did so reluctantly.

In the campaign of the previous year Conkling had visited Garfield at his home. What took place is not known. Conkling's friends say that he was promised the patronage of New York. Garfield's friends deny this. When the Senators resigned they offered themselves for reëlection, but failed. They were succeeded by Elbridge Gerry Lapham and Warner Miller. At the time public opinion was in favor of the administration. Later judgment is more favorable to the Senators, in that it is believed they were deceived by the President, though not intentionally on the part of the latter. Whatever his intentions, Garfield acted in a way that was unfortunate for his party. John Sherman says the President was largely under the influence of Mr. Blaine, whose antagonism to Mr. Conkling has been referred to. Conkling died in private life, but Platt was reëlected to the Senate in 1897.

This controversy aroused great excitement all over the country. Whether it in any way incited the murder of the President can never be known. On July 2nd, while the President was in the waiting room of the Baltimore and Potomac depot, he was shot from behind by Charles J. Guiteau. The President fell and was removed to the White House, where he lingered many weeks. The ball had shattered some of the bones of the spine, but it could not be located. Later he was taken by special train to Elberon, New Jersey, where it was hoped he would be benefited by the sea breezes. He died September 19th, and was buried in Cleveland, where a noble monument has been reared over his tomb. Guiteau, who does not seem to have been a well-balanced man,

and proved to be a degenerate, was tried, convicted, and executed.

For the fourth time the Nation mourned the loss of a President, the second to die by assassination. While there was not the slightest occasion for it, resentment against the Conkling wing of the party was bitter, and President Arthur was not at first received with enthusiasm. Fortunately, his gentlemanly conduct, his wise counsel, and impartial administration somewhat tended to heal the breach in the party, and he left office the most successful of all accidental Presidents. Had any crisis arisen during Garfield's illness, Arthur would have been compelled to act as President, but no such occasion arose.

In the changes of the Cabinet Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, became Secretary of State; Charles J. Folger, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin, Postmaster-General, and Benjamin Harris Brewster, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General. Later Wm. E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, became Secretary of the Navy, and Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, Secretary of the Interior. Under this administration the navy, which had gradually been reduced to a lot of almost worthless hulks, was taken in hand, and the foundations laid for the mighty force that showed itself so invulnerable in the war with Spain. Another important act was the Civil Service Law, drawn by Senator Pendleton, of Ohio; which was devised to make merit the only factor in minor Federal positions. It provided that Federal appointments to minor places should be made by competitive examinations. The spirit of the law and subsequent executive orders provided that removals should only be made for

just cause. The scope of the law was left to the President's direction. It was at first intended to apply principally to Washington, and a few of the larger cities, and only 14,000 places were contemplated as coming within its scope. By successive Executive orders the law now covers the greater part of Federal employés outside of fourth-class postmasters. During a bitter debate in 1899, several members of Congress, who voted for the original law, said they never expected it would be extended as it has been, but a backward step was prevented.

During this administration was passed the Edmunds anti-polygamy law, which prohibited a plurality of wives. This was directed principally at the Mormons of Utah and vicinity.

In 1882 factional politics in New York became bitter once more. The administration candidate for Governor, Secretary Folger, was nominated after a bitter struggle. The Democratic nominee was Grover Cleveland, of Buffalo, who had made a reputation as a courageous reform mayor. The Blaine faction of the Republicans was incensed at what they considered the domination of the Convention by President Arthur and Mr. Conkling, and many refused to vote. As a result, Cleveland was elected by the unprecedented majority of nearly 200,000, and he became the logical candidate of his party for President in 1880. This desertion of the party candidate enraged the Conkling Republicans, with results that will soon appear.

During this administration the DeLong Arctic expedition on the Jeannette suffered shipwreck, and the gallant George W. Melville, later chief engineer of the navy, brought home the remnant of the crew, after a series of dangers and hardships never equaled. He also went

north with the relieving party under Commander (now Rear-Admiral) Schley, which rescued Lieutenant (now General) Greely and his survivors at Camp Sabine, in Smith Sound.

In 1884 a Cotton Exposition was held at New Orleans, and was largely attended. The exhibition was remarkable in showing what the South had accomplished in so brief a period since the war. But in 1895 Atlanta had a similar exposition on an enlarged scale, which showed even a greater rate of progress.

There was little important legislation during this administration, except further extension of the pension laws and a new tariff law based on the report of a commission selected for the purpose. It increased some duties, lowered others, and extended the free list. It also removed most of the stamp taxes levied during the war. The House elected in 1880 contained a Republican majority of one; 147 being Republicans, 135 Democrats, 9 Greenbackers, and 2 Independents. J. Warren Keifer, of Ohio, was elected Speaker. The Senate contained thirty-seven Republicans, thirty-seven Democrats, one Independent (Mr. Davis), and one Readjuster, General Mahone, of Virginia. The two latter generally acted with the Republicans. In 1882 the Republicans lost the House once more, electing only 119 to 191 Democrats, and fifteen others of various affiliations. John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, was elected Speaker. The Senate was as before, except that there were two Readjusters instead of one, and Mr. Davis retired.

The contest for the Republican nomination in 1884 was less spirited that usual. The Convention met in Chicago June 3d. Blaine was the leading candidate, though not so desirous of the honor as formerly, while friends of Arthur urged his nomination. The latter

would have been pleased with the honor, but made no especial effort to secure it. The Convention met at Chicago and nominated Blaine on the fourth ballot. General John A. Logan, of Illinois, was selected for Vice-President. The Democratic Convention met also in Chicago July 8th, and nominated Grover Cleveland, of New York, for President on the second ballot, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The Prohibitionists nominated Ex-Governor John P. St. John, of Kansas, and the Greenbackers General Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts.

The campaign that ensued was the most deplorable in our history. The personalities indulged in have never been exceeded. The private life of each of the leading candidates was assailed, and the general conduct of the campaign in this respect was so indecent that it shocked public sentiment, and has never since been indulged in. And now the result of the old Blaine-Conkling feud was fully shown. While every effort was made to heal the breach, it was not finally closed. The pivotal State was New York, and this was carried for Cleveland by slightly over 1,000 votes, though the Republicans claimed a fraudulent count in New York City of Butler votes for Cleveland, which would have elected Blaine. Butler, in his memoirs, also makes this claim. It took several days to complete the count, and a repetition of the contest of 1876-7 was feared, but Cleveland got the State and the Presidency. Blaine's managers made a number of tactical mistakes. A few days before the election Mr. Blaine was met by a party of clergymen with an address delivered by Dr. Burchard, who spoke of the Democracy as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." It is said Blaine did not understand the second term, but supposed it to be "Mormonism." At any rate he did

not correct the statement, which angered many Roman Catholics, and is believed to have cost him the election. Mr. Cleveland had the support of many former Republicans, because they admired his conduct as Mayor and Governor, and for his professed devotion to civil service reform. These Republicans were called "Mugwumps," and the term was considered one of reproach. Since then independence in politics has become much more general, and the term has been almost abandoned.

The electoral vote stood: Cleveland, 219; Blaine, 182. The popular vote was: Cleveland, 4,911,017; Blaine, 4,848,334; St. John, 151,809; Butler, 133,826; scattering, 11,362.

Grover Cleveland was the first Democrat to occupy the Presidency after the retirement of Buchanan, twenty-four years before. The House elected with him was Democratic, but the Senate was Republican, and this prevented any partisan legislation during his term of office. The Senate, however, confirmed nearly all of his appointments. The struggle for office at the opening of his term was the greatest in history. Democrats expected to get all the offices, but found the President very conservative. During the first two years his removals from office were comparatively few, and he extended the scope of the civil service law. In general, he allowed the Republicans in prominent offices to serve out their four-year terms, but the Diplomatic and Consular offices were generally filled with Democrats. Later in his term he was less faithful to his promises, and greatly disappointed the Independents, who looked upon him as the chief apostle of this reform. For his Cabinet Mr. Cleveland chose: Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, Secretary of State; Daniel Manning, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; Wm. C. Endicott, of

Massachusetts, Secretary of War; Wm. C. Whitney, of New York, Secretary of the Navy; L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior; Augustus S. Garland, of Arkansas, Attorney-General; Wm. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, Postmaster-General.

Mr. Manning died in office, and was succeeded by Charles S. Fairchild, of New York. Mr. Lamar was elevated to the Supreme Bench, and was succeeded by Mr. Vilas, who, in turn, was succeeded by Don M. Dickinson, of Michigan.

Important acts of this administration were: The Foreign Contract Labor Bill, the Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Bill, and the Inter-State Commission Bill, all laws which have remained on the statute book.

On July 25, 1885, General Grant died, at Mount McGregor, New York, of cancer of the throat, after a lingering illness. After his return from his tour he settled in New York City, and unwisely invested all his savings, as a silent partner, in the brokerage firm of Grant and Ward, the former being his son. Ward was one of the most consummate confidence men that ever lived. He managed to get men of wealth interested in his schemes, and was reported to be a millionaire. Finally his bubble burst, the firm failed for a large sum, sweeping away every dollar that General Grant had, and leaving him in debt $150,000 to William H. Vanderbilt for money borrowed at the request of Ward. To pay this last debt he turned over all his swords, medals, and gifts, and they were by Mr. Vanderbilt deposited in the National Museum in Washington. General Grant was now very ill, and his condition appealed to the country. Congress made him once more a General, and retired him with full pay. During his illness he wrote his memoirs, which have had an enormous sale. His death was uni-

versally lamented, and time has assuaged the bitterness of partisanship, so that he is to-day looked upon as one of the ablest and best of American soldiers and statesmen, whose greatest fault was his unsuspicious nature that blinded him to the errors of those who called themselves his friends. He was buried in Riverside Park, New York City, where a handsome tomb has been erected over his remains.

In 1887 Congress passed the Inter-State Commerce law, designed to prevent discriminations between shippers engaged in inter-state commerce. The Commission has acted as a court, and has made many notable decisions, but it lacks certain powers necessary to carry out the real needs of the country. It has prohibited pooling, and in many cases forbidden unjust rates. In ten years freight rates were greatly reduced.

Mr. Cleveland's administration was generally successful. There was no partisan legislation possible. His marriage to Miss Frances Folsom, in 1886, greatly increased his popularity. He aroused more antipathy by his vetoes of special pension bills than by any other acts of his term. Instead of allowing these to go as a matter of course, as his predecessors had done, he investigated each case and, when convinced of their impropriety, he wrote veto messages which by their wording greatly offended many old soldiers and others. In 1887 he determined to make the tariff an issue and, in his annual message, made a terrific assault upon the principle of protection to American industries. This was done against the advice of many of his friends. The House passed a low tariff measure, known as the Mills' Bill, but it was not acted on by the Senate. He was unanimously renominated at the Democratic Convention, which met at St. Louis June 5, 1888, with Allen

G. Thurman, of Ohio, for Vice-President; Mr. Hendricks having died. The platform indorsed Mr. Cleveland's views on the tariff.

The Republican Convention met in Chicago, June 19th, and desired to renominate Mr. Blaine, who was in Europe. He had previously declined to be a candidate, and repeated his declination when the Convention met. There were many candidates, but none formidable. After frequent ballotings Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, secured the prize, and Levi P. Morton, of New York, was nominated for second place. The platform declared in favor of protection, which was the chief political issue of the campaign which differed from that of four years before in being largely devoid of personalities. Once more New York was the pivotal State. Mr. Conkling was now dead, and factional animosities seemed to be forgotten. The Democratic National Chairman was Calvin S. Brice, of Ohio, who had little experience in such matters. The Republican Chairman was Senator M. S. Quay, of Pennsylvania, one of the shrewdest political managers of this century. During the campaign a Republican, under the guise of a former Englishman, wrote Sir Lionel Sackville-West, British Minister at Washington, for advice as to how he should vote. He recommended Cleveland. The letter made a campaign sensation, and Mr. Cleveland sent the Minister his passports. While Mr. Brice was trying to win the West, Mr. Quay laid his plans to carry New York. He succeeded, and Mr. Harrison won. The electoral vote stood: Harrison, 233; Cleveland, 168. The popular vote was: Harrison, 5,444,053; Cleveland, 5,538,536; Fisk, 248,997; Streeter, 146,100.

General Clinton B. Fisk was the Prohibitionist, and Alson J. Streeter the Union Labor candidate.

One of the last acts of this Congress was to elevate the Bureau of Agriculture to a department, making the chief a Cabinet officer.

President Harrison had served one term in the Senate, and was a grandson of "Old Tippecanoe," elected forty-eight years before him. He selected for his Cabinet: James G. Blaine, of Maine, Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury; Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, Secretary of War; General Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York, Secretary of the Navy; John W. Noble, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; W. H. H. Miller, of Indiana, Attorney-General; John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General; Jeremiah M. Rusk, of Wisconsin, Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. Windom soon died, and was succeeded by Charles Foster, of Ohio.

The Congress elected in 1888 was Republican in both branches, although the margin in the House was small. When Congress met in 1889 Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, was elected Speaker, and William McKinley, of Ohio, made Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. There were a number of contested seats, and it was difficult to maintain a quorum of Republicans, which was necessary when the Democrats refused to vote. Accordingly, when he saw the Democrats in their seats the Speaker counted them, in deciding whether a quorum was present. This ruling was vigorously assailed. The Speaker was called "a Czar," "an autocrat," etc., but he held his ground and won. A number of Democrats were unseated, and Republicans given their places. The House adopted rules which greatly expedited business. The Speaker was empowered to count members who were present, while the Committee on Rules was

given power to arrange the schedule of business, and filibustering was stopped. These rules, with some modifications, have been in force ever since as they have been found to greatly expedite business.

The tariff act known as "the McKinley Bill" was prepared and put through the House. It provided for an average of higher duties than had ever been laid, but also greatly increased the free list. In the Senate the bill met opposition, where a bill to put Congressional and Presidential elections under Federal control had aroused the Southern Democrats, who professed to see in it a return of negro domination. By skillful maneuvering Senator Quay made an arrangement by which the election law was dropped and the tariff bill passed.

At this session was passed a new bill in relation to silver. The Bland-Allison act had failed to bring the price of silver up to $1.29 per ounce, where the ratio of 16 to 1 would be maintained. The Senate passed a bill restoring the free coinage of silver, but the House was opposed to it. A new compromise was passed, known as "the Sherman Act." By it the Secretary of the Treasury was to buy in the open market monthly not exceeding 4,500,000 ounces of silver at the market price and issue certificates on it at once, before coining, at the rate of one dollar for each 371½ grains, which should be legal tender. This it was supposed would absorb all the surplus silver and restore the former price. In the meantime a new international conference on the subject was called in the hope of the general remonetization of silver. The act failed to restore the price, and the international conference failed as before.

Foreign matters had a serious aspect during this administration. In New Orleans an Italian society, known as "the Mafia," had long secured immunity from

punishment for crime by means of political influence. A number of particularly foul murders had been committed and no one convicted. On March 14, 1891, a mob gathered, broke open the jail, and shot down seven Italian prisoners who were awaiting trial, and hanged two others. Italy at once demanded an apology and reparation. Mr. Blaine replied that it was a matter for Louisiana and not the United States to settle. The relations between the two countries became strained. The Italian Minister went home, and ours left Rome. Eventually the matter was healed over, $25,000 recompense given the families of the murdered men, and friendly relations were restored.

A more serious incident was that with Chile. In 1891, during one of the periodical revolutions, the existing government was overthrown. Our Minister granted asylum to the deposed President, and he escaped the fate common in South American revolutions. This greatly angered the successful revolutionists, who soon took an opportunity to wreak their vengeance. The revolutionary steamer Itata was seized by the United States, but sailed away suddenly. She was followed, and surrendered at Iquique. This made matters worse. The United States Cruiser Baltimore lay in Valparaiso harbor and some of her crew (October 16th) went ashore as usual. A mob collected and drove the blue jackets back to the boats, killing two and wounding several. This was an insult not to be brooked. President Harrison demanded an immediate apology and indemnity. Chile at first was not disposed to agree to this, whereupon rapid preparations were made for war. At this Chile backed down and made the reparation demanded, though not with very good grace. The sum paid was $75,000. The body of the killed Boat-

swain's Mate, Charles W. Riggin, was disinterred, brought home to Philadelphia, and lay in state in Independence Hall, after which it was buried with military honors, followed by the greatest procession ever given a sailor in this country.

In 1889 a revolution in Brazil had driven the aged Dom Pedro from his throne, and a Republic was set up. In 1892 the navy revolted against the Government, and established a partial blockade of several ports, whereupon one of our war vessels in the bay of Rio Janeiro escorted some American vessels to the docks. The rebel navy did not open fire, as was threatened. Soon after the rebellion was crushed. Another important dispute with Great Britain was sent to arbitration. Claiming the sole right to catch seals in Bering Sea, this Government had seized some Canadian vessels engaged in shooting seals on the high seas. Our contention was that we owned the seals. The matter was decided against us, and we paid damages. In 1897 seal catching was temporarily stopped to prevent extermination of the herd.

One event of 1889 that will long live in history was the destruction of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, May 31st, by the bursting of a dam which kept back a large lake. The water from this lake was precipitated upon the town and almost totally destroyed it, while several thousand persons lost their lives. Appeals for aid were answered from all over the world, and the city was soon rebuilt and more prosperous than ever.

In 1888 was passed the new Chinese Exclusion Act with provisions much more strict than those of former days. The construction of the Pacific railway was the primary cause of the heavy wave of Chinese immigration, which soon became threatening because the cheap labor

drove out the Caucasian who could not compete. By the act of 1888 Chinese laborers were absolutely prohibited entering, while all Chinese in the country were required to register.

In 1890 the administration met the usual mid-term reverse at the elections. This was partly due to party apathy and partly to dissatisfaction with the new tariff bill. The House of Representatives was controlled by the Democrats, and Charles F. Crisp, of Georgia, was elected Speaker, which prevented any partisan legislation in the latter part of Harrison's term. Just before this term expired a revolution in the Hawaiian Islands deposed Queen Liliuokalani and set up a Republic. President Harrison negotiated a treaty of annexation, which was referred to the Senate, but not acted on.

The year 1892, judged by official statistics, was the most prosperous up to that time. Our foreign trade was large, domestic trade showed the largest totals in the history of Clearing House statistics, and manufacturing was on an unprecedented scale. Under such circumstances the Republican party expected an easy victory. Unfortunately it was not harmonious, and there was much grumbling over the tariff bill on the ground that it unduly raised the price of necessities. The Republican Convention met in Minneapolis June 7, 1892, with President Harrison the only avowed candidate with a large following. President Harrison had incurred the personal enmity of many of the party leaders, who took up Mr. Blaine once more as a candidate, in spite of his refusal to be a candidate. On the eve of the Convention Mr. Blaine resigned as Secretary of State for reasons not given, but variously stated to be because he wanted the nomination, and that personal differences had arisen between him and the President over matters relating to

his own department. He was succeeded by John W. Foster, of Indiana. The control of the Convention depended on the delegates from Southern States, from most of which there were contesting delegations. The contests were generally settled in favor of the administration delegates. General Harrison was renominated and Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York Tribune, was given second honors.

The Democratic Convention met at Chicago June 20, 1892, and, in spite of all opposition, Mr. Cleveland was renominated on a platform that was not quite so unequivocally against protection as in 1888. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, got second honor. Wm. F. Harrity, of Pennsylvania, an able politician of experience, was chairman of the Campaign Committee. The Republican chairman was Senator Thomas H. Carter, of Montana. The contest was spirited, but the Democrats won easily, carrying many States hitherto strongly Republican. The electoral vote stood: Cleveland, 277; Harrison, 145; Weaver, 22. The popular vote was: Cleveland (D.), 5,556,562; Harrison (R.), 5,162,874; Weaver (Pop.), 1,055,424; Bidwell (Pro.), 264,066; Wing (Labor), 22,613.

It will be seen that in four years the Democratic vote increased but slightly, while the Republicans lost considerably. The vote for Weaver, Populist, was about seven times that cast for Streeter in 1888. The People's (Populist) party was the outgrowth of the discontent of the farming element South and West with financial legislation. Into it were fused members of all parties. It demanded the free coinage of silver, Government loans on crops, and many other ideas new to our politics. Its strength was largely in the West, in the prairie States. During Harrison's administration the States

of Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Washington, North Dakota, and South Dakota had been admitted, all but one of which were counted as safely Republican, yet the Populists, singly or by fusion with the Democrats, carried nearly every one of them. For the first time since 1860 a third party had carried a State. During Harrison's administration ex-President Hayes, James G. Blaine, General B. F. Butler, and Justice Lamar died. General Sheridan and General Sherman died previously.

Mr. Cleveland now came into power with both Houses of Congress Democratic, though the Senate was so divided on financial issues that it could not well be tabulated. Mr. Cleveland chose for his Cabinet: Secretary of State, Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana; Secretary of the Treasury, John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Daniel Lamont, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama; Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith, of Georgia; Secretary of Agriculture, J. Sterling Morton, of Nebraska; Postmaster-General, Wilson Bissell, of New York; Attorney-General, Richard Olney, of Massachusetts.

Mr. Gresham died in office, and was succeeded by Mr. Olney, whose place was taken by Judson Harmon, of Ohio. Mr. Bissell resigned in 1895 and was succeeded by William L. Wilson, of West Virginia. The President's first act was to withdraw the Hawaiian treaty, thus defeating annexation. His effort to place Liliuokalani on the throne failed, and the Republic lasted until 1898, when annexation was effected.

One of the President's first duties was to formally open the World's Fair at Chicago. This exhibition in Jackson Park, instituted at a cost of over $20,000,000, was the most complete the world has ever seen. Enormous buildings were erected but, instead of being purely

useful, the most elaborate pains were taken with their architecture. The exterior was a white composition known as staff, being principally plaster of paris, which looked like marble. The decorations, mural and of statuary, were elaborate and artistic. The grounds were laid out with lagoons, fountains, and all that landscape gardening could produce. The whole was a veritable fairyland. At night the buildings and lagoons were lighted up by electricity and the artistic effect was magnificent. The exhibits were complete and comprehensive, showing all that the world could offer in the arts and sciences. Foreigners were amazed at the display, and Americans no less. In the seventeen years which had passed since the Centennial, progress had been wonderful. Whereas in 1876 much of our showing was poorly contrasted with foreign exhibits, now the comparisons were almost all in our favor. The exhibition was open six months, during which time there were 27,500,000 visitors, and total receipts of over $33,000,000. The Government gave directly $1,500,000, besides its own exhibit, and further aid by allowing the coinage of special designs of subsidiary coin, which commanded a premium. One interesting feature of the Fair was the Parliament of Religions, at which were gathered representatives of nearly every known religious creed in the whole world.

In June of this year another financial panic came. The Democratic party was pledged to a revision of the tariff law, which made manufacturers cautious, and capitalists contracted loans. Silver had continued to fall in price in spite of Government purchases, and Great Britain suddenly suspended the coinage of the silver rupee at the Indian mints. This caused a further drop in the price of silver, and the panic in this country

assumed large proportions. Manufacturers, banks, and business men failed, and there was financial stringency throughout the country. In this emergency President Cleveland convoked Congress in extra session to repeal that portion of the Sherman Act providing for purchases of silver. The House elected Charles F. Crisp, of Georgia, Speaker, and under the rules soon passed the repeal bill. In the Senate it met determined opposition. The Senators from the South and far West were generally in favor of free silver, and they used every method to prevent a vote. Senators spoke many hours at a stretch against repeal, often lasting all night. The fight was in vain, for by a combination of "sound money" Republicans and Democrats the repeal bill passed in October. Nothing else of importance was passed at this session, but at the regular session the Committee on Ways and Means, of the House (Wm. L. Wilson, Chairman), introduced a measure greatly reducing tariff duties. This bill was passed, and went to the Senate, where the Democrats were more conservative. In order to gratify local interests the rates were largely increased, until they were about half way between the McKinley law and the Wilson bill. It was the intention to make concessions for lower rates in the Conference Committee of the two Houses, but the Republicans, by skillful maneuvering, led by Senator Quay, who spoke for days and threatened to speak for many weeks, the House accepted the Senate measure. The President refused to sign it, and it became a law after ten days.

The fall elections were a perfect landslide for the Republicans, following what has become almost a fixed rule that the administration loses in the middle of its term. Mr. Reed was once more elected Speaker, and Nelson Dingley, of Maine, became Chairman of the

Ways and Means Committee; Mr. McKinley being now Governor of Ohio.

There was no partisan legislation during the rest of Cleveland's administration. In both of his terms Mr. Cleveland largely extended the scope of the civil service law, for which he was criticised by Republicans, who claimed that he first allowed departments to be filled with Democrats. Much dissatisfaction also was caused by the fact that the bonded indebtedness was increased $262,000,000. Part of this was to pay expenses, but most of it to maintain gold payments during the silver excitement. One contract made by the administration with a Wall street syndicate for bonds at a low price which the latter sold at a high price, caused great dissatisfaction. It was necessary, however, to get gold as the "endless chain" worked rapidly.

The important foreign episode of the administration was a controversy with Great Britain over the Venezuela boundary. For many years there had been a dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela as to the boundary line between the latter and British Guiana. The matter came to a crisis when gold was found in the disputed country. Great Britain finally laid down a line as its minimum boundary and brought matters to a crisis by offering to arbitrate only over a small amount of territory in dispute. In this situation, invoking the Monroe Doctrine, Mr. Cleveland sent an ultimatum, with an implied threat of war, that the whole subject must be arbitrated. The ultimatum admitted of no compromise, and was so brusque that war seemed inevitable if Great Britain refused, as seemed likely, to accede to our demands. She did accede, and the matter was satisfactorily settled. The message to Congress, sent

December 17, 1895, caused a small panic in financial circles, as it was believed war was inevitable.

The political situation in 1896 was very much mixed. The Populists had increased in power, and they finally brought over the mass of Democrats to their favorite platform of free silver. Contrary to custom, the Republican (minority) party held its Convention first, at St. Louis, June 16, 1896. The platform declared for the gold standard and against the free coinage of silver without the coöperation of foreign Nations. Again there were many contesting delegations, most of which were settled in favor of those supporting William McKinley, of Ohio, the leading candidate. Other aspirants were Speaker Reed and Senator Quay. Mr. McKinley was nominated on the first ballot. Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, got second honor. A pathetic feature of the Convention was the withdrawal from the Convention of a number of men who had been connected with the party since its birth. Senator Teller and his friends could not accept the gold standard platform, and withdrew—a situation somewhat similar to that at Charleston in 1860, though the desertion was not so formidable.

The Democratic Convention met at Chicago, July 7th, and first adopted a free silver platform, relegating the tariff question to the rear for the time being, whereupon many Eastern delegates withdrew. Richard P. Bland, of Missouri, was the leading candidate. On the fifth ballot the Convention nominated William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, a brilliant young orator and former Congressman, who had hardly been mentioned for the place, but who carried the Convention by storm in a brilliant speech for free silver. Arthur Sewall, of Maine, a prominent ship-builder and capitalist, got second honors.

The Populist party met at St. Louis and adopted a platform including free silver, Government loans to farmers on crops, payment of National bonds in silver, etc. They nominated Mr. Bryan, but refused to indorse Sewall, who was president of a National bank. In his place they named Thomas Watson, of Georgia. This complicated the electoral tickets somewhat, but in most States where the Populists had any strength fusion was made so as to insure Mr. Watson a part of the vote. This year the Prohibition party split and had two candidates in the field.

The Democrats who refused to accept the Chicago platform met at Indianapolis and nominated General John M. Palmer, of Illinois, for President, and General Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, for Vice-President, on a gold standard platform. While these made an earnest canvass, it was more for educational purposes than to get votes, as most of their followers finally voted for McKinley. Mr. Bryan made the most remarkable campaigning tour on record, speaking in nearly every State and attracting large crowds of people. His youth, earnestness, brilliancy, and courage made him many friends, though it has seldom occurred that a tour of this kind has been successful.

In November Mr. McKinley was elected over Mr. Bryan by a large majority of the popular and electoral votes, and receiving a majority over all opponents. The electoral vote stood: McKinley, 271; Bryan, 176. For Vice-President the vote was: Hobart, 271; Sewall, 146; Watson, 30. The popular vote stood: McKinley, 7,107,822; Bryan, 6,288,866; Bryan and Watson, 222,207; Palmer, 133,800; all others, 178,178. There were elected 207 Republicans, 121 Democrats, 26 Populists, and 3 Silverites to Congress. The Senate once more

was Republican, but only on certain issues. There were several Free Silver Republicans, who prevented any legislation against the interests of the white metal.

President McKinley chose for his Cabinet: John Sherman, of Ohio, Secretary of State; Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois, Secretary of the Treasury; Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, Secretary of War; John D. Long, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, Secretary of the Interior; James Wilson, of Iowa, Secretary of Agriculture; Joseph McKenna, of California, Attorney-General; James A. Gary, of Maryland, Postmaster-General.

Mr. Sherman soon retired, and was succeeded by William R. Day, of Ohio, who was succeeded by John Hay, of Ohio, then Ambassador to Great Britain. Mr. McKenna was soon promoted to the Supreme Court, and was succeeded by John W. Griggs, of New Jersey. Mr. Gary also retired and was succeeded by Charles Emory Smith, of Pennsylvania. The fourth change was the resignation of Mr. Bliss, who was succeeded by Ethan Allen Hitchcock, of Missouri, then Ambassador to Russia.

Esteeming the tariff question of prime necessity, an extra session of Congress was called. Mr. Dingley prepared a new high protective measure, which passed both houses after many amendments, and became a law in 1897. Manufactories once more became busy, and a sudden rise in the price of wheat, due to an unusual foreign demand, were factors in restoring prosperity to the country. In the year 1898 the foreign trade balance was more than $600,000,000 in our favor, the domestic trade was the greatest ever known, while railroads and other enterprises largely increased their earnings.

In 1898 there was held a notable exposition at

Omaha, Nebraska, only second to that held in Chicago. While the Spanish War interfered with it somewhat, it was largely successful in every respect. It was a moral to Eastern people to find such enterprise, culture, and intellectual development beyond the Missouri river.

This is the end of the second stage of our history. The first ended when we were acknowledged as an independent Nation by Great Britain. From 1783 to 1898 is 115 years of progress, not always constant, of strugling for prosperity, of local and national growth, and of development entirely within the confines of our national limits. In January, 1898, there was little doubt that we should continue developing our internal resources, cultivating the good will of all Nations, but interesting ourselves little except commercially beyond the limits of our then existing territory. In five months the whole situation changed and introduced into our politics new ideas, new duties, and new responsibilities. The expansion of our territory was as sudden as it was unexpected, and forms one of the most interesting periods in our history, which must be given with some detail.

SIXTH PERIOD

THE WAR WITH SPAIN AND SOME OF THE RESULTS ARISING OUT OF IT

As we have seen, the people of this country have always taken a lively interest in Cuban affairs. The island lies in a position that strategically commands the Gulf of Mexico, and is esteemed one of the richest parts of the globe in material resources. Pro-slavery men looked on it with longing eyes, as indeed did pretty much everyone until the slavery issue became prominent in politics. Even Abraham Lincoln in his debates with Douglas would not pledge himself to vote against annexation, although it was slave soil at the time. The futile efforts of the ill-starred Lopez to get up an insurrection have been noted. A genuine effort was made at revolution in 1868, just after Isabella had been driven from the throne of Spain. For two years the revolutionists gained steadily, their operations being confined mainly in the eastern end of the island. They raised a large army, but could not procure adequate supplies of guns and ammunition. In spite of domestic troubles, Spain made great efforts to put down the revolt, sending across the seas or enlisting in Cuba over 235,000 soldiers, of whom 85,000 were killed or died of disease, principally the latter. The Cubans were aided largely by their countrymen in the United States, which led to much friction between this country and Spain, although we had been the first to recognize the new order of things in the Peninsula. In 1873 an incident

took place which nearly provoked a war with Spain and caused as much excitement as the blowing up of the Maine in Havana harbor in 1898. The Virginius was a blockade runner which had been captured and sold as a prize. She was refitted, had an American register and an American crew. For three years after 1870 the vessel was not in the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, but continued to carry the American flag. There is little doubt that she was used by the friends of Cuba for filibustering purposes. On October 31, 1873, while cruising the Caribbean waters, she was seized by the Spanish warship Tornado and carried into Santiago. There were on board 155 persons, including many American and British subjects. The men were summarily tried, without due process of law under our treaty with Spain, sentenced to death, and within a week forty-three Cubans, seven Americans, and six Britons were shot. The rest would have suffered a like fate had not the British warship Niobe arrived with Captain Sir Lambton Lorraine, who threatened to bombard the city if anyone else was killed. When the news reached this country President Grant put the navy on a war footing so far as the current appropriations allowed. A demand was made on Spain for an apology and indemnity. General Sickles, our minister at Madrid, pushed the matter vigorously, and Spain conceded everything. The Virginius and her survivors were surrendered, our flag saluted, and $80,000 indemnity was paid. This ended the incident. By this time the revolutionists had lost much of their former strength, and the war was continued in the mountains of the East without important battles, but requiring a large Spanish army. Finally Captain-General Campos, in 1878, made the peace of Zanjon with the insurgents, whereby important reforms

were promised, and the insurgents laid down their arms. Not one of these promises was kept, and the revolution of 1895 was the consequence. In February of that year the standard of revolt was raised once more and the movement became more formidable than ever. A temporary government was organized and military operations were conducted under Generals Garcia, Gomez, and the brothers Maceo.

A considerable army was raised and the war was carried into every department of the island. In the first two years there was hard fighting and the insurgents were generally successful, as they possessed a fair amount of ammunition and supplies. This country was faithful to its treaty obligations; and when filibustering was suppressed, supplies were cut off, the Cuban army stopped fighting in the open field, and began harassing the enemy, burning sugar plantations of Spaniards, and doing as much damage with as little open fighting as was possible. Spain raised altogether some 300,000 men for the war, of whom nearly one-third died of disease or were killed. Finding that active operations in the field were impossible, Captain-General Weyler began his policy of reconcentration, forcing all inhabitants to leave the country and concentrate in the towns and cities, where, being without money or work, they died by thousands. Weyler was guilty of the grossest cruelties, in defiance of military law; and his conduct and a natural desire to see the Cubans succeed aroused sentiment in this country in favor of the revolutionists. In spite of popular sympathy, the Government, at great expense, continued to stop filibustering, and two captains of vessels were imprisoned. The administration constantly tried to alleviate the unnecessary sufferings of the war and to bring about peace on the island. Finally Spain

granted an autonomous government, which was little more than a farce, and at the last moment declared an armistice, but events had moved so rapidly that no compromise was possible.

The administration resolved to maintain friendly relations, and, as an earnest of its good intentions, sent the battleship Maine (Captain Charles D. Sigsbee) in January, 1898, to the harbor of Havana, on a friendly visit; and the Spanish cruiser Vizcaya was ordered to New York. Neither ship was received with enthusiasm, and the relations were formal and strained. On February 8th a sensation was created by the publication of a letter purporting to have been written by the Spanish Minister at Washington, Dupuy de Lome, to Senor Canalejas, a Spanish official at Havana. In this letter McKinley was called "a low politician," "weak and catering to the rabble," "who desires to leave a door open to me and to stand well with jingoes of his party." Canalejas was urged to agitate commercial relations even if "only for effect," and to send a man to Washington "to make a propaganda among the Senators." When de Lome saw the letter was published, he immediately cabled his resignation to Madrid, and, when questioned by the State Department, blandly acknowledged it and left the country. This caused a storm of excitement. Just how the Cuban Junta secured the letter is not known, but it proved a powerful weapon. The excitement had not cooled down on the morning of February 16, 1898, when the country was driven wild with excitement on learning that, at 9:40 o'clock the evening previous, the battleship Maine had been blown up in Havana harbor, killing or mortally wounding two officers and 264 men. Captain Sigsbee, who was on board, was saved, and immediately wired the Secretary of the

Navy, asking suspension of judgment pending an investigation. Spain desired to join in the investigation, but, being refused, started one of her own in a desultory manner.

A Court of Inquiry, composed of Captain William T. Sampson, of the Iowa, Lieutenant-Commander Adolph Marix, Captain French E. Chadwick, and Lieutenant-Commander W. P. Potter, began an investigation, February 26th, which lasted twenty-three days. All of the survivors were closely questioned; the Maine was examined by divers, mainly under the direction of Ensign Powelson, whose energy and intelligence largely contributed to the solution of the problem. The Court unanimously reported that the Maine had been blown up by a mine situated outside the vessel and that no fault could be imputed to the officers of the ship. The testimony showed that the Maine lay at an unusual anchorage, and that, on the night of the explosion, the vessel had veered round to a position she had not occupied before. The Spanish Court reported that the explosion was from the inside of the Maine, but no one ever considered it seriously, as the investigation was not worthy the name. Their divers were down but a short time and found nothing of importance, while Ensign Powelson showed conclusively that the keel of the Maine had been forced up above the water line, and everything showed that a mine had been exploded beneath the vessel.

The President sent the report to Congress, saying he had referred it to Spain, expecting that Nation to do what was right in the premises. Little attention was paid to this, however, as the people of the country were unanimous for war. The situation in Cuba was such that it was no longer safe for Americans. Under orders

of the President, Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee left Havana April 9, 1898, by which time nearly all our consuls and citizens were already gone. On April 7th an unusual event took place at the White House. The diplomatic representatives of Great Britain, Germany, Austro-Hungary, France, Italy, and Russia, headed by Sir Julian Pauncefote, handed the President a joint note expressing the hope that further negotiations would bring about peace. The President replied that he was anxious for peace, and concluded: "The Government of the United States appreciates the humanitarian and disinterested character of the communication now made on behalf of the Powers therein named, and for its part is confident that equal appreciation will be shown for its own earnest and unselfish endeavors to fulfill a duty to humanity by ending a situation, the indefinite prolongation of which has become insufferable." This is generally conceded to be one of the most convincing answers to an appeal for peace ever made. It satisfied the Powers, not one of which thereafter made a protest.

On April 10, 1898, the new Spanish Minister presented a long note to the State Department, making the best of the situation from a Spanish point of view, calling attention to autonomy, the armistice, the repeal of the Weyler decree of reconcentration, and the fact that General Blanco, who had succeeded Weyler, was trying to do the best he could for humanity. It was too late. War was already certain, and the only question was as to the preliminaries. There were many members in both Houses who wanted to recognize the existing Cuban Republic, but the President opposed this, and, after a long struggle, the administration won.

On April 19th both Houses passed resolutions

declaring the people of Cuba free and independent, demanding that Spain relinquish authority in Cuba, directing the President to use all the land and naval forces to carry the resolutions into effect, and specifically stating that this country entered upon the task not for its own aggrandizement, but expecting to leave the control and government of the island to its people as soon as it was pacified. The President signed these resolutions April 20th and sent, by cable, a copy to our Minister to Spain, General Woodford, who was to wait two days for a reply. The Spanish Government already had received a copy from its Minister, Polo y Bernabe, in Washington, and, without waiting to hear from Woodford, sent him his passports. He turned over the legation to the British Embassy and left on the same day for home. Thus Spain actually began the war. On the 22d the President issued an order blockading nearly all the ports of Cuba. At daylight on the 23d the fleet which had collected at Key West, under command of Acting Rear-Admiral Sampson, sailed for Cuba, and the blockade was begun. On the way the Spanish merchant steamer Buena Ventura was captured as a prize by the gunboat Nashville. Others soon followed. On the 25th, in reply to a message of the President, Congress passed a resolution declaring that war existed with Spain and had existed since the 21st of April, the day Spain broke off diplomatic relations.

On the 23d the President issued a call for 125,000 volunteers for the war. While the negotiations were in progress the country had not been idle. On February 1st this country was in no condition for war; there were few reserve supplies of ammunition and equipment, and an immediate declaration of war would have found the country badly handicapped. The administration needed

some time and much money to prepare for war. The President asked for $50,000,000 to be used at his discretion for the public good. The House, on the 8th, and the Senate, on the 9th of March, unanimously voted the money. In the House there were impassioned patriotic speeches in which ex-Confederate officers vied with ex-Federals in pledging support to the Government. Preparations had already begun to get the navy ready. With the sum now at hand contracts were made for all sorts of army and naval supplies. War ships, and merchant ships for transports were purchased. Supplies of ammunition were sent to Commodore Dewey commanding the Asiatic naval station, and every nerve was strained to get the Nation ready for war. When it came we were partly prepared, but it took many weeks to get the volunteer army in anything like condition for service. Laws were passed allowing the regular army to be recruited up to 62,000 men, providing for volunteer cavalry and engineer regiments, and ten so-called immune regiments, in addition to the volunteers apportioned to the various States. The Army and Navy Departments worked night and day to equip the ships and soldiers. The navy was already in good condition and needed only accessions, while the army had almost to be created.

The strategy of war was comparatively simple, as it turned out, though it gave great anxiety at the start. There was a panic of fear along the Atlantic coast over the dread of bombardment of the chief cities. The fast cruiser Columbia and other vessels were kept scouting off the extreme northeastern coast, as far as the Grand Banks, to sight a hostile fleet. A so-called flying squadron, under Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, was collected at Hampton Roads, ready to start in any

direction. His flag-ship was the armored cruiser Brooklyn, and his principal ships were the Texas, sister ship to the Maine, Captain Phillip, and the first-class battleship Massachusetts, Captain Higginson.

When Admiral Sampson sailed from Key West, he had the Iowa, Captain Robley D. Evans; the armored cruiser New York (flag-ship), Captain Chadwick; the Indiana, Puritan, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Detroit, Marblehead, Mayflower, and a large number of smaller vessels, with which he blockaded the coast.

The only other American fleet was at Hongkong, under Commodore George Dewey, consisting of the flag-ship Olympia (Captain Gridley), the Raleigh, Baltimore, and Boston, all second-class cruisers; the gunboats Concord and Petrel; the revenue cutter McCullough, and two transports.

On the Pacific coast there was the cruiser Charleston and the monitors Monadnock and Monterey. The first-class battleship Oregon, Captain Clark, was ordered from San Francisco to the East. Clark left March 19th and reached Rio de Janeiro April 30th. Here he was joined by the gunboat Marietta and the new cruiser purchased from Brazil, the Buffalo. The Oregon reached Key West May 26th, after a voyage of 12,000 miles, without a moment's stop for repairs—the most remarkable voyage on record, due to the strength of the ship and the untiring efforts of the officers and crew. The last part of the voyage was hazardous, as it was expected that the Spanish fleet might be overhauled at any time. Captain Clark had determined to fight them all, if he met them, and subsequent events indicated that he would have won.

The Spanish had a large number of small gunboats and a few cruisers in Cuban waters, but their principal

navy consisted of two fleets, one near home, in the Atlantic, and the other in the Philippines. The home fleet consisted of some of the finest vessels afloat. The Maria Teresa, Almirante Oquendo, Vizcaya, and Cristobal Colon were considered of the finest type of armored cruisers afloat, and there was much anxiety in this country because of them. These, with the torpedo boat destroyers Pluton, Terror, and Furor, formed a fleet which was sent to American waters, April 29th, from the Cape de Verde Islands. The Spanish reserve fleet, under Admiral Camara, at Cadiz, consisted of the battleship Carlos V, the cruisers Pelayo and Numancia, and several converted cruisers. These latter once started for Manila and got through the Suez Canal, but returned to Cadiz after the destruction of Cervera's fleet. The fleet in Manila Bay consisted of the Reina Christina, Castilla, Don Antonio de Ulloa, Isla de Luzon, Isla de Cuba, General Lezo, Marquis del Duero, El Cano, Velasco, Isla de Mindanao, and some small torpedo boats and gunboats.

As to the army, Spain had something like 200,000 trained soldiers in the West Indies and about 12,000 in the Philippines. There were some 80,000 reserves in the Peninsula called out, all armed and equipped. The United States had a little army of 25,000 men to begin with, which was in three months recruited up to 57,000 regulars and over 220,000 volunteers, very few of whom saw much service in the field of battle.

The first order was to blockade Cuba, for it was not intended to begin active military operations until the rainy season was over. The next order was for Dewey to destroy the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. The next object was to destroy Admiral Cervera's fleet, which had sailed from the Cape de Verde Islands, no one knew

just where. It was believed Cervera would make Cuba his objective point, which was confirmed by learning of his presence off the Venezuelan coast, May 14th. That he would strike for Cienfuegos, on the south side of Cuba, seemed most probable, as it was the nearest port and in direct railway communication with Havana. Then began the chase for this fleet, to be hereafter described. As it turned out, there was little occasion for grand strategy during the war. There was one series of American successes on land and sea, which soon brought peace.

Before beginning the narrative of the war some space must be given to the great preparations on land and sea. A large number of yachts and merchant vessels were bought or leased and fitted up as gunboats and cruisers, though little protective armor was put on them. The four great American Line steamers Paris, New York, St. Louis, and St. Paul were leased, fitted up as cruisers, but used largely as scouts and transports, the St. Paul being in command of Captain Sigsbee. The Paris was rechristened the Yale and the New York the Harvard. Many vessels were hastily fitted out as transports, supply and hospital ships, together with many colliers to supply the fleet. Since for the past fifteen years Congress had been liberal with the navy, it was much easier to fit it out than the army. The naval force was increased by enlistment of men, the naval reserves of States, and by promoting officers and taking many from civil life.

The financial question was easily settled. Stamp taxes were laid, intended to raise over $100,000,000 per year, and a popular loan of $200,000,000 in 3 per cent bonds was offered. Most of this was taken in subscriptions of $500 or less, and no subscription of $5,000 or over was accepted. The loan was subscribed to many

times over. The bonds sold at a premium long before they were ready for delivery.

The army problem was much more difficult to solve. Ever since the Civil War the army had been neglected, in spite of recommendations and protests from army officers and the War Department. Although the officers were as fine a body as ever wore uniform, Congress never looked upon them and the men as much more than ornamental police. Only in the last few years had the army been equipped with the modern small caliber rifle with smokeless powder cartridges, and there was not large enough reserve supply at first for the regular recruits. The fear of militarism being ever before the eyes of Congress, some little good was done by a small appropriation to the various States for the National Guard. Nominally these organizations aggregated about 125,000 officers and men. In one State only was the organization perfected and used to duty. Pennsylvania's National Guard was a division of three brigades, each of five regiments of infantry, one troop of cavalry, and one light battery. These were accustomed to brigade evolutions, and some experience in division drill. In other Eastern States, and in some central States, the organization was more or less perfected, but in none of them was it adequate for war. The material was there, but it lacked the necessary training. The National Guard was equipped with Springfield rifles and black powder cartridges. Most of the tentage and material was drawn from the regular army, but the equipment was seldom complete.

When the call for 125,000 men was issued, the States furnished their quota usually by using the National Guard regiments as a basis. Those who desired to stay at home did so, and their places were quickly taken by

volunteers. The new law provided for a regiment of three battalions of four companies, each company consisting of 106 men. Few militia regiments were so large, and they were consolidated or filled up to meet the requirements. It took but a short time for the States to raise the quotas in local camps. As they were filled the regiments were sent to camps of instruction in the South, so as to become acclimated, except a few which were detailed to guard powder mills and public property. The principal camps were near Washington (Camp Alger), at Chickamauga (Camp Thomas), at Jacksonville (Camp Cuba Libre), and at Fernandina. Later there was a large camp near Middletown, Pa., and many smaller ones in Alabama and Georgia. On May 25th the President issued a call for 75,000 more men, making 200,000 volunteers, in addition to the volunteer cavalry, engineers, and immunes, not apportioned among the States. The First Volunteer Cavalry was commanded by Surgeon Leonard Wood, of the army, who had been advanced to the rank of Colonel, with Theodore Roosevelt as Lieutenant-Colonel, who left the post of Assistant Secretary of the Navy to assume the position. This regiment was nicknamed the "Rough Riders" because it was largely recruited from cowboys and frontiersmen in Texas, Arizona, and adjacent territory. It also included a large number of college athletes and clubmen from New York. Nearly every race and religion was represented, as well as nearly every State. It gained more celebrity than any other volunteer organization.

This army was organized into eight corps, only seven of which were completed. Each corps was supposed to consist of two divisions, each of three brigades of three regiments—nominally about 24,000 officers and men. To officer this army, whose maximum reached about

275,000 men, all of the Brigadier-Generals in the regular army, as well as some other officers, were made Major-Generals of Volunteers. In addition men of experience in the Civil War were given the same rank. These included James H. Wilson, of Delaware; J. Warren Keifer, of Ohio; Fitzhugh Lee, of Virginia; M. C. Butler, of South Carolina, and Joseph Wheeler, of Alabama; the last three mentioned being ex-Confederate officers. Nearly all the Colonels in the regular army, as well as some Lieutenant-Colonels, were made Brigadier-Generals, together with a considerable number from civil life who had served in the Civil War. Among the latter were Charles King, better known as a novelist; Frederick D. Grant, H. V. N. Boyton, Adelbert Ames, hero of Fort Fisher; J. P. S. Gobin, Grand Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, and W. C. Oates, the latter an ex-Confederate officer.

Under the law the Governors of the States appointed all line officers below the rank of Brigadier-General. To provide for this army an immense increase in the staff was necessary. This was done as far as possible by taking young officers from the regular army and promoting them, though many preferred to remain in the line. In addition, a large number of civilians were appointed, many of whom had never had the slightest military training. Some of these learned their duties easily and became efficient. Others never did become efficient, and much trouble resulted. During the war it developed that the weakest spot of the army was the staff, not only in the higher grades, but in the regiments. Everyone was anxious to fight, but the vexatious detail of quartermaster and subsistence departments, and sanitary arrangements was irksome, and it took some time to properly learn the duties; a certain amount of "red tape"

BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

being necessary or else there would be hopeless confusion. It took a long time for green officers to learn these rules, and in the meantime the men were often on short rations, while few companies at first had good cooks. In spite of all drawbacks, by July 1st there was an army of over 200,000 men, nearly all equipped, and all eager to fight. In spite of all complaints made by persons ignorant of war, this army was assembled and equipped in a shorter space of time than had ever been known before.

We now turn to the narrative of the war, which is brief and glorious. The first conflict took place April 27th, at Matanzas, Cuba. The blockading vessels New York, Puritan, and Cincinnati bombarded the forts of the town and dismounted some batteries without loss on either side. On the same day Commodore Dewey, having received laconic orders to destroy the Spanish fleet, sailed away from Mirs Bay, near Hongkong, expecting to find the enemy at Subig Bay, north of Manila. In this he was disappointed; so he kept on, and entered the Bay of Manila, sailing past the batteries on Corregidor Island at the entrance, about daybreak, May 1, 1898. It was a hazardous enterprise, for he knew there were mines in the harbor, heavy fortifications on land, and he had a large fleet to fight. It is true that he was somewhat superior to the enemy in tonnage and the number and weight of his guns, but neither his vessels nor those of the enemy had any protective armor. The Spanish fleet lay under the guns of Cavite Fort, where there was an arsenal. Unless Dewey could win a decisive battle, he might be in a perilous position, as he was 7,000 miles from the nearest American port. Undaunted by these dangers, Dewey sailed in, and by good chance escaped the mines as they were exploded. Sighting the enemy on

the south of the bay, by the fort, he placed his vessels in line and sailed around in a circle, so as to give each of his vessels a chance to fire and sail on out of range. The line bore steadily down until in just the right position, when Dewey, who remained on the bridge, remarked quietly to the Olympia's captain: "You may fire, Gridley, when you are ready." An instant later, at 5:06, May 1st, the fight began, and lasted nearly two hours and a half. The enemy replied vigorously, but their aim was poor. On the other hand, the American gunners fired slowly and with more accuracy, but not so well as Dewey had expected, and he was greatly troubled as he feared the ammunition had run short owing to a misunderstanding of the signals. When several of the enemy's vessels were aflame, and all more or less damaged, Dewey ordered the whole fleet out of range to consider the situation, for he was much disturbed. Contrary to general belief for months afterward, the respite was not for breakfast, but to find out how much damage his fleet had sustained, and how much ammunition remained. Anxiously Dewey awaited the reports from each of his vessels as to the losses. When one vessel after another reported not a man lost or seriously hurt nor any damage done, the Commodore breathed a sigh of relief. After breakfast and a little rest, the line was formed again, and the attack was renewed upon the Spaniards, who were already rejoicing over a victory, supposing that they had driven the American vessels off by their fire. The second attack was at closer range than the first. The Americans were now confident, their aim went true, and in a short time every Spanish vessel was sunk, and some 600 Spanish sailors were killed, including one captain. The Spaniards had fought to the last, but their marksmanship was very bad. Once

more Dewey called for a list of casualties, and again found that not a single life had been lost, and only eight wounded, while the damage to the entire fleet did not amount to $5,000. This, the most remarkable naval battle in history up to that time, caused a sensation all over the world. The administration breathed a sigh of relief. Dewey was made a Rear-Admiral and given a sword by Congress, and in 1899 was given the full rank of Admiral.

Cavite Fort surrendered on demand of Dewey, who notified Manila that he would shell the town if the batteries opened on him. The city was blockaded, and Dewey was obliged to await the arrival of an army. Assistance was sent as soon as possible. Some regulars and a large number of volunteers were sent to him, until the army in the Philippines amounted to about 20,000 men by December. General Wesley Merritt was sent in command of the army, but was afterward recalled to Paris and home on special duty, and was succeeded by General Elwell S. Otis. The Charleston sailed from San Francisco May 18th, and the First California, with other troops, sailed on the 25th. Thereafter troops were sent as rapidly as possible, by way of Honolulu; and the monitor Monterey made the long trip safely in tow, soon to be followed by the Monadnock. As the cruiser Charleston was on its way to Manila, it stopped, June 21st, at the Island of Guam, in the Ladrone Islands, belonging to Spain, and fired a few shots by way of warning. The Spanish Governor sent word he could not fire a salute as he was out of powder. He was told to surrender, and it was some time before he could be made to understand that war had been declared, and he was a prisoner. Leaving an American settler in charge as Governor, the Charleston sailed on in safety to Manila.

As the troops reached Manila, they were placed in camp west and south of the city. Aguinaldo, a former leader of revolutionist Filipinos, who had sold out to Spain for gold, as it was charged, and had gone to Hongkong, had returned with Dewey, and went ashore to organize a native force as allies, though Dewey had no official relations with him. Aguinaldo soon organized a quasi-Republic, of which he became the self-appointed dictator.

Our narrative now returns to Atlantic waters. Leaving smaller vessels to maintain the Cuban blockade, Admiral Sampson at Key West rendezvoused the flagship New York, the battleships Iowa and Indiana, the monitor Puritan, the cruisers Cincinnati, Detroit, and Marblehead, and the torpedo boat Mayflower, and on May 4th sailed eastward, looking for Cervera's fleet, which might possibly have sailed for San Juan, Porto Rico. On the 12th a portion of the fleet bombarded San Juan, did some damage to the fortifications, and discovered that Cervera's fleet was not there. As to find the Spanish fleet was the principal object of the voyage, Admiral Sampson turned westward again.

In the meantime the first American blood of the war had been shed. Off Cardenas, Cuba, the blockading vessels Wilmington, Hudson, and torpedo boat Winslow were attacked by Spanish gunboats and shore batteries. The Winslow was disabled and the Hudson, a converted ferry boat, went to her rescue and took her in tow just as Ensign Worth Bagley and four men were killed and Lieutenant Bernadou wounded by a Spanish shell. It was the most destructive shot of the Spanish navy during the war. On the same day the cables were cut by a party of American sailors in small boats off Cienfuegos, and one American was killed.

On May 12th positive information was received that Cervera's fleet was at Martinique, Windward Islands. The next day Schley's flying squadron sailed for Key West. It was now certain that Cervera was going to Cuba, and it was necessary to catch him if possible. The plan laid out was for Schley to go around the western end of the Island, with the chance of finding him at Cienfuegos, while Sampson sailed around the eastern end until he met Schley. And now comes the story of the only incident in the naval history of the war that has given rise to controversy, except one other which immediately followed. Schley sailed around Cuba and blockaded Cienfuegos, May 21st, where he believed Cervera's fleet was harbored. On the 19th word reached Washington that Cervera was at Santiago. Sampson was informed, and sent the news to Schley, telling him to go to Santiago if he was sure Cervera was not at Cienfuegos. Now, Schley, on May 25th, was not certain on this point, and remained at Cienfuegos until he got a second notice, when he sailed, May 26th, for Santiago, but did not complete a close blockade of the place, owing to the smallness of his fleet. He here received orders to close in, hold the place and sink a collier in the mouth of Santiago Harbor. Most of Schley's vessels were nearly out of coal, and he found it difficult and almost impossible to coal from a collier at sea. Notifying the Department of his condition, and that he could not follow instructions, he started to go back to Key West, May 29th, but the collier Merrimac broke down, and he finally managed to coal his vessels at sea. Schley claims that he had been told that even if Cervera was at Santiago he would surely come to Cienfuegos, which latter point it was necessary to watch closely. This is his explanation of not closing in on Santiago at first. Sampson's ves-

sels soon began to arrive. On the 31st the batteries at the harbor were bombarded, and some damage done, and on June 1st Admiral Sampson arrived, took command of the whole fleet, and instituted a close blockade. Sampson now resolved to execute his plan for closing up the harbor with a collier, and asked Naval Constructor Richmond P. Hobson to draw up the plan.

This he did, and received permission to execute it. This plan was simply to take in the collier Merrimac, until he reached a narrow place in the channel, anchor one end of the vessel, let the other swing with the tide, and, just as the collier was lengthwise across the channel, sink her with small torpedoes controlled by electricity. This was one of the most hazardous enterprises ever undertaken, yet when volunteers were called for nearly every man in the fleet wanted to go, and there were many heart-burnings over the refusals. Hobson chose only six men, picked for courage, physical and technical skill. They were Osborn Deignan, George F. Phillips, Francis Kelly, George Charette, Daniel Montague, and J. C. Murphy. Randolph Clausen, a coxswain of the New York, determined to share in the work, concealed himself in the Merrimac, and when discovered at the last moment, refused to leave his self-chosen post, making the eighth man of the party. The first attempt was made June 2d, but it was getting light, and the enterprise was postponed until the next night, when it was carried out, but not to a complete success. The Spanish batteries opened on the Merrimac, and the crew escaped death by a miracle. Unfortunately, the rudder chains were shot away, part of the torpedo wires cut, and when the collier sank it did not close the channel. Hobson and his men sank with the vessel and swam to a catamaran, from which they were taken at daylight

by Admiral Cervera, who was out looking for an American warship he supposed he had sunk. On hearing Hobson's story Cervera was so impressed with his bravery that he sent an officer to Admiral Sampson, under a flag of truce, to allow clothes and money to be sent to the American prisoners, who were the only ones captured by Spain during the war. This touch of kindness pleased the American people so much that, later, the Spanish Admiral received many attentions in this country.

The Morro Castle and batteries along the mouth of the harbor were repeatedly bombarded, and the men driven from the guns, but the permanent damage was small. A part of the fleet attacked the batteries at Guantanamo Harbor, east of Santiago, and on June 10th 600 marines landed and made a camp. They were attacked by Spaniards for two days, and lost four men. The navy shelled the hills, and the marines held their ground. Admiral Sampson now believed that an army could capture the batteries at the mouth of the harbor, and wired the President that with 10,000 men he could take Santiago in twenty-four hours. An army, principally of regulars, had been collected at Tampa under General Shafter, and this was hastily embarked on a fleet of transports. There were two divisions of infantry under Generals Lawton and Kent and one of cavalry under General Wheeler, but the latter left their horses behind and fought as infantry. The only volunteers were two squadrons of First Cavalry (Rough Riders), the Seventy-first New York and the Eighth Massachusetts. Owing to a false alarm, raised by the report of Spanish cruisers in the Nicolas Channel, the sailing was delayed several days for more warships as convoys, but on June 13th the expedition sailed, about 16,000 strong, and was off Santiago on the 20th. There seems to have

arisen a difference of opinion between Shafter and Sampson, which lasted through the campaign. Sampson wanted Shafter to storm Morro Castle, but Shafter said it would be impossible to land under the fire of Spanish batteries and take the place without incurring more loss than he felt justified in ordering. The troops began to disembark at Baiquiri, about fifteen miles east from Santiago, on the 21st, Lawton's division taking the lead; but as the work was slow, due to the loss of lighters and the absence of suitable docks, and the fear of transport captains, which kept them far from shore, the work progressed very slowly, and the regular order of landing was not maintained. General Wheeler's division began to disembark, and, as Wheeler was the ranking officer ashore, he pushed his men to the front along the Santiago road. Early on the 24th the Spaniards were met at La Guasimas and engaged by General Young's brigade. After a sharp fight the Spaniards were driven back. The American loss was sixteen killed and fifty-two wounded, including in the former Hamilton Fish and Captain Allyn K. Capron of the Rough Riders. General Shafter feared Spanish bullets much less than yellow fever, which he knew was likely to break out, so determined on a brief campaign even at some discomfort and suffering. By the 26th the advance had reached within four miles of Santiago, along a single road over which all supplies and ammunition had to be transported by mule trains. Reinforcements which arrived finally gave Shafter about 22,000 men. General Shafter now ordered General Lawton's division to the right, on July 1st, to capture the Spanish town El Caney "before breakfast," and then to move to the left and join Generals Kent and Wheeler in taking San Juan Hill. Lawton did his work, but it took longer than was expected, as the Spaniards fought

CAPTURE OF SAN JUAN HILL

bravely from behind stone walls, and there were no siege guns at the front. The Spanish Mauser rifle proved a terrible weapon when properly handled. Fortunately, the Spaniards were poor marksmen. Without waiting for Lawton, Wheeler and Kent charged up San Juan Hill in the face of a galling fire from behind breastworks and stone walls, and took it with a rush after heavy loss. This charge up the hill is one of the most brilliant feats in our history. Barbed wires had been stretched so as to impede progress, but nothing could stop the gallant soldiers as they rushed up the hill. At the same time a feint was made by a brigade on Aguadores to the extreme left. The Americans lost heavily while waiting in line before the charge at the foot of the hill. Just behind them was a signal service balloon, which made a good target for the enemy. The two volunteer infantry regiments used black powder, and smoke from these made a good target also. After the Americans captured San Juan Hill, they dug trenches, and successfully resisted heavy attacks from the Spaniards throughout the night and during July 2d, who fought bravely in spite of the expectation that they would fly at the first fire. As the American line was thin and the attacks persistent, General Shafter asked his officers if it would be prudent to fall back. They decided in the negative. General Wheeler, who, in spite of his years and illness, had been active all through the campaign, was insistent that no retreat should be made. On hearing from Shafter, the President sent General Miles with reinforcements. General Shafter lost in the two days 23 officers and 208 men killed, and 80 officers and 1,203 men wounded. The total losses of the campaign were 23 officers and 237 men killed, and 80 officers and 1,332 men wounded. Early on July 3d General Shafter sent a summons to

General Toral, commanding at Santiago, to surrender. On that morning occurred the second great naval event of the war. General Shafter desiring to consult with Admiral Sampson as to the shelling of Santiago by the navy, the latter left on his flagship New York to meet the General. Not long after he had left, Cervera's fleet made a sortie out of the harbor. It was a surprise to the Americans. Many of the vessels had only a few boilers under steam, and some had their engines uncoupled. Commodore Schley, the ranking officer, set the signal to close in and fight. The Maria Teresa, Almirante Oquendo, and Vizcaya were soon riddled with shot, set on fire and beached, the officers and crew surrendering. The torpedo boat destroyers Pluton and Furor were quickly sunk, while the Cristobal Colon managed to get started well to the west, followed by the Brooklyn, Oregon, Texas, and Iowa. The last two were sent to look after the three beached cruisers, and the others kept up the chase for about forty miles. The large guns seem to have done little damage, but the havoc of the smaller calibers was frightful. The Colon was overtaken, and ran on the beach just as the New York was coming up with Admiral Sampson on board. Admiral Cervera and all his surviving officers and crew surrendered, amounting to 1,300. Several hundred were killed or drowned. The Americans lost but one man. The Spanish officers were sent to Annapolis, and afterward paroled. The sailors were sent to Portsmouth, and were finally allowed to go home.

On July 5th, Toral, who had declined the first summons, was again ordered to surrender, and refused; but a truce was agreed on to allow foreigners and women and children to leave the city. Fearing, from reports, that Shafter was in a dangerous situation, reinforce-

ments had been rushed to him, and on July 11th General Miles arrived. Hobson and his crew were exchanged for Spanish prisoners. The navy bombarded the city on the 10th and 11th, and were preparing to do more execution when negotiations were opened by which, on the 14th, General Toral surrendered not only Santiago, but all of the eastern end of Cuba, and about 23,000 men, on condition that they be sent back to Spain at the expense of the United States. This was agreed to and the Santiago campaign was over.

In the meantime yellow fever and malaria had attacked the American army with terrible effect, and proved worse than Spanish bullets. Even the physicians were attacked and there were many deaths. Accordingly a camp was prepared on the east end of Long Island and named Wykoff, after the gallant officer who fell at Santiago, whither the army was transported and remained until the danger of contagion was over. The volunteer regiments were then disbanded. Colonel Wood was made a Brigadier, later a Major-General, and appointed Military Governor of Santiago. Roosevelt had been made Colonel of his regiment. Though there have been many criticisms of General Shafter and his campaign, it should be remembered that within a month he had invaded a foreign, tropical country, fought and won two hard battles, and received the surrender of a greater force than his own with a comparatively small loss. Only about a dozen of the wounded died, as the Spanish bullets did little damage except when they struck a vital spot.

On July 20th General Miles sailed from Guantanamo with transports under convoy for Porto Rico. Instead of landing on the north side, as was expected, he landed on the south side at Guanica, which he took without

resistance. General Brooke had sailed with his corps, amounting in all to some 35,000 men, and served under General Miles. Ponce surrendered on the 28th, and soon the American army from three directions advanced toward San Juan. There was a skirmish at Guayama on the 8th; at Coamo on the 9th, where the Americans lost one killed and six wounded; and on the 10th General Schwan drove back the Spaniards from Mayaguez. General Brooke now pushed to the mountains, and was just about to open the only serious battle of the campaign, when news of the armistice came. The loss in this campaign was three men killed and four officers, and thirty-six men wounded.

Peace came about in this wise. On July 26th the French Ambassador at Washington, Mr. Jules Cambon, representing Spanish interests, asked for terms of peace. On the 30th President McKinley replied that peace could be secured by Spain giving up sovereignty of Cuba, ceding Porto Rico and Guam to the United States, while the Americans were to hold the harbor and city of Manila until a joint commission of Americans and Spaniards should determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines. On August 11th a protocol agreeing on the above was signed in Washington, at 4:23 p. m., by Secretary Day and Ambassador Cambon. Hostilities were ordered to cease at once, but before the news reached Manila a combined attack was made, on the 13th, by Admiral Dewey and General Merritt, upon that place, which was captured with a loss of only fifty in killed, wounded, and missing. Previous to this, on July 31st, the Spaniards had attacked Merritt's lines at night, when nine Americans were killed and forty-seven wounded—most of them volunteers. Soon about 100,000 volunteers were discharged, including all

who had served abroad, except a few regiments in the Philippines. The total strength of the army in August was just under 275,000 men. The total losses to October 1st were 280 killed, and 2,630 dead of disease, including a few who died of wounds, making a total of 2,910, or a trifle over 1 per cent of the whole, the smallest death rate ever known during a campaign. The deaths from disease were largely of typhoid fever, most of them in volunteer camps. Up to March 1, 1899, the total deaths were about 5,000.

The war was now over and arrangements were made to carry out the protocol. Joint commissioners were appointed to superintend the evacuation of Porto Rico and Cuba. The former was easily accomplished, but the latter was not concluded until in the early part of 1899, though the Americans took possession of the island on January 1st, and raised the Stars and Stripes on Morro Castle and over the wreck of the Maine.

The President appointed as Commissioners to make the formal Peace Treaty in Paris William R. Day, Senator William P. Frye, Senator Cushman K. Davis, Senator George Gray, and Whitelaw Reid. These met the Spanish Commissioners, October 1st, but it was not until the middle of December that the treaty was signed. Spain wanted this country to assume all or part of the Cuban debt, which was refused. Then this country demanded the cession of the Philippines, offering $20,000,000 as compensation for recent improvements. The latter was finally agreed to under protest, and was ratified by the Senate February 6th. The Queen Regent signed the treaty March 17, 1899.

One great result of the war was the wiping out of the sectional feeling in this country. The North and South were equally patriotic and by general consent the old

sectional issue was buried. This alone was worth all the war cost in blood and treasure. Also the fact that Great Britain was our firm friend through the war, though obliged to act neutrally, wiped away much of the prejudice that had existed between the two Nations, and brought them into friendly relations that are likely to have important consequences.

In August much complaint was made as to the inefficiency of the commissary, quartermaster, and medical departments of the army. Over 2,000 men died of various camp diseases, there were complaints that the food was bad, and it was hinted that there was corruption or inefficiency in many departments. Secretary Alger was the chief object of these complaints. He demanded an investigation and the President appointed nine Commissioners to inquire into all the complaints. They were General Grenville M. Dodge, Colonel J. A. Sexton, Captain E. P. Howell, General J. M. Wilson, Charles Denby, Urban A. Woodbury, General James A. Beaver, General A. McD. McCook, and Dr. Phineas S. Connor. All the officers named were from civil life and gained their titles in the Civil War, except General Wilson, who is Chief of Engineers of the Army, and General McCook, who is a retired officer of the Regular Army. In January, 1899, Commissary-General Egan in a report to the War Inquiry Board attacked General Miles, using unbecoming and abusive language because of the former's charges about the army beef, some of which was alleged to have been "embalmed under the pretense of an experiment." For his language General Egan was court-martialed, convicted, and suspended from duty for six years. The unfortunate controversy over the conduct of the War Department did much to detract from the satisfaction over our brilliant victories on land and sea.

The Commission's report mildly censured the War Department and Inspector-General's Department, but found in general that the operations of the war had been conducted with unusual swiftness and efficiency.

To investigate the charges of General Miles, a Board of Inquiry of army officers was constituted. It found the charges unsupported by the facts.

In the elections of November, 1898, the Republicans were generally successful and elected a majority of the House of Representatives, something unusual for a party in power in the middle of an administration. Colonel Roosevelt was elected Governor of New York, and the Republican pluralities as a whole were greater than in 1896, due largely to the fact that a number of Western States returned to Republican allegiance. The Legislatures elected chose enough Republican Senators to give that party a large majority, so that both the administrative and legislative bodies were, after March 4th, in the hands of the Republicans.

On July 6, 1898, the joint resolution annexing the Hawaiian Islands was passed by large majorities in both houses of Congress. A Commission was appointed to draft a form of government for the islands, the American flag was raised, and the local government temporarily continued. The Commission reported to Congress, but it was not acted on by the Fifty-fifth Congress. When Congress met in December, 1898, there was general satisfaction over the result of the war, but the policy of expansion of our territory was by no means unanimously approved. While the division of opinion on what was termed "imperialism" did not follow party lines entirely, most of the anti-expansionists were Democrats. The subject was injected into debate when the Senate received the treaty with Spain. The opposition

was determined and ably led. One of those most anxious to defeat the treaty was Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, a lifelong Republican. The House also discussed the subject, as it was necessary to appropriate $20,000,000 to carry out the treaty. The Senate ratified the treaty by a narrow margin, and the House voted the appropriation, but not until many long, and sometimes bitter, speeches had been made. Indeed it is possible the treaty might not have been ratified at all but for the precipitate action of Aguinaldo and his followers near Manila, which will hereafter be described. Several Senators, who wavered in their views, were brought over, by this outbreak, to support the treaty. The administration policy was to establish order in Cuba and the Philippines before taking any steps toward establishing their political status.

Congress passed a law to amalgamate the line and staff officers of the navy in recognition of the fact that modern war vessels are now mere fighting machines and the engineers are equally responsible with the line officers and deserve the same rewards.

A bitter fight was made over the reorganization of the Regular Army. Under the terms of enlistment the volunteers and all but 28,000 regulars were to be discharged on the ratification of peace. As this would not leave enough for the temporary occupation of Cuba and the suppression of native insurgents in the Philippines, the administration desired that the regular army be fixed at 100,000 men. To this leading Democrats offered such objection that a compromise was finally made to increase the regular army to 65,000 men and authorize the enlistment of 35,000 volunteers, but the extra regulars and all the volunteers were to be mustered out July 1, 1901. This bill was signed by the President, the

expectation being that a new law would be passed if circumstances required before 1901.

Owing to a wide difference of opinion as to whether Admiral Schley or Sampson was entitled to the credit for the victory off Santiago, the Senate confirmed none of the President's naval promotions for gallantry during the war. This controversy has aroused much feeling. Admiral Schley was the popular hero, but officially Sampson was given the chief credit. It is about the only controversy over naval matters of the whole war.

An effort was made to provide for the construction of the Nicaragua Canal. Measures to this end, differing in details, passed both houses by very large majorities, but failed in conference, though the President was authorized to appoint a commission to investigate the whole subject.

Congress also passed in 1898 a National bankruptcy law. The former one had been repealed about twenty years previously.

The unexpected acquisition of the Philippines was the source of new troubles. From the beginning Aguinaldo, the young leader of a former rebellion against Spain, had expected that the United States would set up a Republic in the Philippines or permit the Filipinos to do so. A mock sort of organization was formed with Aguinaldo at its head, but it was never recognized by the United States or our military authorities in Manila. Thereupon Aguinaldo became impatient. He had collected a considerable army, which was tolerably equipped and lay in the outskirts of Manila. Finding he would not be recognized, early in February, 1899, he began hostilities by an attack on the American troops under General Otis at Manila. The attack was easily repulsed with great loss to the natives

and little to the Americans. Fighting was kept up for some time, but the operations nowhere assumed the importance of campaigns, though requiring the employment of a considerable army by reason of the guerrilla tactics of the Filipinos.

The friendly feeling between this country and Great Britain had been manifested in many ways during the war and it was looked upon as an auspicious time to settle a number of disputes of long standing with Canada. These were chiefly in reference to the Alaskan boundaries, fishing and sealing rights and reciprocal trade. A Joint High Commission of the two Nations met in 1898-9, but had not accomplished anything definite when they adjourned in February, to meet later in the year. The most difficult subject was that which related to our tariff laws. Canadian lumber, coal, and agricultural products would naturally come in competition with our own goods and the Dingley tariff law was designed to prevent this. Mr. Dingley was on the commission and naturally could not agree to important modifications. His death and that of Lord Herschell, head of the British Commission, were greatly regretted by both Nations.

The American army in Cuba had little trouble in preserving order, but the poverty of the people and unsettled political status made improvement slow. By arrangement with General Gomez, the United States gave $3,000,000 to pay the Cuban troops. The Cuban Assembly demanded a much larger sum and dismissed Gomez for accepting the offer. This brought the Assembly into reproach, as it did not express the wishes of the great masses of the people.

In January the stock market developed an activity never before known in our history. Prices advanced

rapidly and a wave of speculation seemed to have struck the whole country. In New York for some time the sales on the Stock Exchange averaged 1,000,000 shares daily. This was the result of general industrial recovery from a period of depression, large harvests and the heavy balance of foreign trade in our favor. Railway earnings showed large increases, while manufacturers in nearly every branch of trade were busy. Development of our iron industry is shown by the fact that we can sell steel rails cheaper than any other Nation in the world. During 1898 large shipments were made to India, Austria, and Russia; many orders were refused as it was impossible to fill them. American electrical machinery is sold all over the world, and American locomotives are in great demand. All these tokens of prosperity did not eliminate the silver question from politics, for the leading Democrats of the country declared their intention of adhering to the Chicago platform of 1896.

The rise in stocks was accompanied by the formation of a great many so-called "Trusts." The name arises from the fact that when the earlier aggregation of competing firms or corporations were made, the property was placed in the hands of Trustees for the benefit of all concerned. Originators of these combinations claimed that competition had become so fierce that it was merely a question of combination or general failure. The public generally looked upon such combinations as an attempt to control the output of a commodity for the purpose of raising prices to the consumer. Nearly all of the States, as well as Congress, passed laws to make these monopolies impossible, but they have been of little effect in stopping the process of combination. Up to March 1, 1899, there were already incorporated in New Jersey companies with an aggregate capital of $2,000,-

000,000, most of which were combinations of corporations or firms to create monopolies. This probably represented over one-half the total of such corporate capital in the country.

So important has the movement become that it has been injected into politics as an issue. Regardless of the moral and economic value of these trusts, it is interesting to note the development of manufacturing in this century. During the first quarter manufacturing was largely done in the homes by manual labor. Inventions of machinery developed the factory system, which spread rapidly during the second and third quarters, and in the last quarter the individual factory began to disappear, and organizations to monopolize various industries appeared. Likewise in the cities the large department stores have largely monopolized trade to the exclusion of the small shopkeeper. These developments have been viewed with alarm by many thoughtful people, who fear the centralization of control over the production of so many commodities, and deprecate the elimination of the individual merchant and manufacturer. Certainly it is one of the interesting problems of the Nineteenth Century which the Twentieth will be called upon to settle.

In September, 1899, the United States addressed a note to the Powers in which it asked to be assured that the "open door" in China would be maintained. That is to say, this country wanted a declaration from the Powers to the effect that its trading privileges in Chinese territory would not be interfered with by any foreign power temporarily or permanently in control of that territory, by lease or otherwise. After tedious negotiations the desired assurances were obtained March 20, 1900. The first symptoms of the "Boxer" outbreak had been observable for some time and European nations

were demanding protection for their missionaries It was felt that our conquest of the Philippines had given us new interests in the East, which should be safeguarded in any concerted action by the Powers. The advisability of doing this, and even of maintaining our hold on foreign conquests, was questioned by many, and it was made the chief issue of the approaching political campaign, the Republicans advocating the expansion policy, the Democrats the contrary.

The choice of the two principal political parties for standard-bearers fell on the same men as four years before, McKinley and Bryan, but the addition of the new issue did not strengthen the Democratic nominee, for he received only 155 electoral votes to 292 cast for his Republican opponent.

President McKinley made no change in his Cabinet, but it was understood that Attorney-General Griggs would resign. He argued with signal ability the government's side in the test cases brought to establish the legality of collecting duty on importations from the new possessions. The Supreme Court held in two cases (December, 1900, and May, 1901) that Porto Rico and the Philippines are not parts of the United States in the meaning of the constitutional clause which prescribed that "all duties, imports and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." There was a dissenting minority.

The very general American sympathy with the Boers in their unequal struggle against Great Britain acted as a kind of pressure on the administration, which had preserved the strictest neutrality. Accordingly a well-meant offer of mediation between the contestants was made March 13, 1900, but it was declined by Great Britain.

Our trade interests were helped during 1900 by reciprocity treaties with Portugal (June 12), Italy (June 18), and Germany (July 13). Of more interest as being in line with the administration's policy was the treaty ratified by the Senate Jan. 16, providing for the partition of the Samoan Islands. By its terms Great Britain relinquished her claims, the United States received Tutuila and other islands east of 171° of W. longitude, while Upolu and the other islands west of that meridian fell to the share of Germany. This arrangement gave us Pago Pago harbor, the best and most defensible coaling station in the South Pacific. But the treaty which dwarfed all recent ones in significance was the new canal treaty with Great Britain, so widely discussed and so variously modified before attaining the form finally signed by Secretary Hay and Lord Pauncefote, Nov. 18, 1901. It superseded the obsolete Clayton-Bulwer agreement concluded half a century before, when the present development of civilization had scarcely been dreamed of, and the changing commercial and national requirements of a later age could not, of course, be adequately anticipated. For a long time public sentiment had demanded an abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer arrangement, and the demand became more imperative after the Monroe Doctrine obtained its new importance. Congress had anticipated its probable action in the matter by authorizing the Isthmian Canal Commission (headed by Admiral Walker and composed of military, naval and civilian experts) in the river and harbor act passed March 3, 1899. The exhaustive investigation of the subject by this competent body covered nine months' time and cost $1,000,000. Its report, submitted Dec. 4, 1900, was favorable to the Nicaragua route, though this is 183.66 miles long, its estimated cost $189,-

864,062, and the time of a vessel's passage through it 33 hours, whereas by the Panama route the canal would be only 49.09 miles long, the estimated cost of completing it $144,233,358, and the time required for a vessel to pass through it 12 hours. The Commission's chief objections to the Panama route were its greater distance to the southward, its deadly climate and the enormous sum demanded for the old company's concessions and work already done. However, the Commission recommended that the Panama Company's lowest price be ascertained, and when, after a year's delay, it indicated a willingness to accept the Commission's estimate of its property ($40,000,000) there was a slight veering of sentiment in favor of the shorter route. Hereupon the Colombian government interposed, claiming the right to be heard in a transaction of such moment to its interests. This unlooked for action furthered the chances of the Nicaragua project, which on the whole seemed to promise better as a national enterprise.

The new treaty with Great Britain gave the United States sole authority and control over the contemplated water-way across the isthmus, made our government the sole guarantor of neutrality, but secured to Great Britain equal commercial rights in the use of the canal.

The "Boxer" rebellion in China, commencing early in 1900, resulted in the wholesale massacre of Christian missionaries and their native converts, and finally culminated in the siege of the buildings occupied by the European legations in Peking. In order to rescue these the Powers dispatched a joint force of 50,000 men, of which the American contingent was commanded by General Chaffee. The expedition was at first unable to overcome the obstacles encountered, but received reinforcements and made a new start, relieving the nearly

exhausted embassies Aug. 14, 1900. The Chinese government had at the outset merely connived at the excesses of the "Boxer" chiefs, but later had made common cause with them. Accordingly the Powers determined to exact not only a suitable money indemnity, but sufficient guarantees for the future and full material reparation for the wrongs perpetrated by the Dowager Empress and her chief functionaries, who had sought safety in the West on the approach of the allies. Some of the aggrieved nations were disposed to place so high a price on their wrongs and their vindication, that it could have been paid only by seizing and administering the revenues of the entire empire for years to come It was seen that this would eventually result in the dismemberment of the Empire, and finally at the instance of the United States the other Powers reduced their demands, so that the whole indemnity was fixed at 450,000,000 *tacls* ($338,000,000). In addition the chief authors of the outrages were beheaded or banished to Turkestan, and expiatory monuments were erected in each of the desecrated foreign cemeteries. The formal evacuation of Peking, in accordance with the terms of the peace protocol, was completed Sept. 17, 1901. It is noteworthy that the American, British and Japanese troops showed themselves more amenable than the others to military discipline and the laws which govern modern warfare.

Many believe that our participation in this punitive expedition, following so closely upon the annexation of Hawaii and our acquisition of the Philippines, Porto Rico, Guam and a part of the Samoan group—all widely separated island possessions—committed us to a policy of expansion. This charge of "imperialism" (to use the term of those favoring the opposite policy) was thought by some to be confirmed by the tacit, if not formal, assur-

ance given by the United States early in 1902, that it would support in the East the alliance between Great Britain and Japan, the two nations acting in the interests of the "open door" and opposed to Russia's encroachments in Manchuria. But this very assurance to Japan and Great Britain may be construed as a desire to preserve peace, since Russia can be restrained, if at all, only by some such combination of powers as that of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations seconded by their nearest imitators, the Japanese. Moreover, it should be remembered that our government counseled and exhibited rare leniency in China, and far from desiring territorial compensation, was so anxious for an early evacuation of the Chinese capital that it ordered General Chaffee to withdraw his forces without waiting for the allies.

The pacification of the Philippines had proceeded far enough in the earlier months of the year 1900 to justify the withdrawal of a considerable body of troops for the rescue of our legation besieged in Peking. The capture of the Filipino chief, Aguinaldo, and his "staff," March 23, 1901, and his subsequent declaration of allegiance to the United States, apparently removed the most serious factor in the Philippine problem. Thereafter our officials' main object was to fit the natives for government by means of good schools, impartial courts of justice and wise legislation. In furtherance of these aims a great deal of expert testimony was secured and a special "Philippine Commission" appointed, headed by Judge William H. Taft, who was afterwards made civil governor of the islands. General Chaffee became commander of the military division of the Philippines, but without civil functions, while the Commission was made a sort of legislative and advisory council.

The Cuban situation shaped itself less satisfactorily.

The United States continued its occupation in pursuance of its plan to insure the island a stable government, but there was no interference with the efforts of the Cubans to devise a constitution. This important document they completed Feb. 2, 1901, largely in imitation of ours, but without features analogous to those defining the functions and powers of our State governments, since Cuba is composed of six dependent *provinces,* not independent states. However, this tentative constitution gave insufficient guarantees regarding some matters of vital importance to the United States, and as a remedy the so-called Platt Amendment was proposed March 2, 1901. Its principal provisions were substantially as follows:

The Cubans acknowledge the right of the United States to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence and the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States, which obligations are now to be assumed and undertaken by the Cuban government; that all acts of the United States during its intervention in Cuba are ratified and validated, and all lawful rights acquired thereunder are to be maintained and protected; that Cuba is never to make with any foreign power any treaty which will impair the independence of the island, nor to give any power lodgment in, or control over, any part of the island; that the government of Cuba is to make no debt the interest on which it cannot pay from the surplus of its revenues after paying the interest on outstanding debts and setting aside a suitable sinking-fund for the discharge of such debts; that the island is to enforce the proper sanitation of its cities so as to prevent the spread of epidemic and infectious diseases to the southern ports of the United States; that the Isle of Pines is to be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty; that the United States has the right to establish and protect coaling or naval stations at specified points in Cuba; that the foregoing provisions are to be embodied in a permanent treaty with the United States, which will terminate its occupation of the island as soon as a government is established able thus to define its relations with the United States.

The publication of this document was the occasion of much outspoken opposition in Cuba, but after some time spent in stormy discussion it was decided to send to Washington a delegation of the island's foremost men for a conference with the President and his advisers. These distinguished Cubans were received with great consideration, and on their return to Havana (May 16, 1901) reported in favor of accepting the Platt Amendment, which was done.

The election of a President of the new Cuban republic was attended by comparatively little excitement, only three having been proposed as candidates. These were General Gomez, who declined, General Maso, a negro, who afterwards withdrew, and T. Estrada Palma, so long the director of the Cuban revolutionary *Junta* in New York. The last named was elected without opposition Dec. 31, 1901.

Our commercial relations with the island are more difficult of adjustment than our political ones, and constitute a problem as yet far from being solved. This, united with the other difficulties of the situation, is likely to foster the already strong sentiment in favor of annexation to the United States.

In the new volume added in 1901 to Maclay's "History of the American Navy," reference was made to Admiral Schley in language reflecting on his courage and ability as an officer, and denying him any credit for the destruction of the Spanish fleet off Santiago. As the proof-sheets of this volume had been submitted to (and presumably approved by) Admiral Sampson, and as the work in question was used as a text-book at the Naval Academy, Schley felt that an attack on his character and reputation had been virtually sanctioned by his com-

mander and by the Navy Department. Accordingly he asked (July 22, 1901) for an official inquiry. His request was granted, and the Court of Inquiry which began to sit Sept. 12, was composed of Admirals Dewey, Howison and Benham. The Court's finding vindicated him of the charge of cowardice, but was adverse to him as regards his actions and methods prior to the battle off Santiago. Dewey did not wholly agree with his colleagues and filed his individual opinion that Schley's handling of the squadron had been efficient. Though the Court censured Schley on some points it recommended that, considering the time which had elapsed, no action be taken in the premises. Admiral Schley appealed (Jan. 21, 1902) from the decision of the Court to President Roosevelt, who, after a review of the case, sustained its finding. Nearly all the newspapers and the nation at large thought Schley entitled to the credit of the victory. He was placed on the retired list Oct. 9, 1901.

The assassination of President McKinley at Buffalo, N. Y., Sept. 6, 1901, by the Polish anarchist, Czolgosz, cast a gloom upon the entire Nation. The cowardly scoundrel had approached in a long file of visitors at the Pan-American Exposition, advancing to shake hands with the President. Instead of taking the extended hand of the Chief Executive Czolgosz fired two shots from a revolver concealed in a handkerchief wrapped around his hand. The assassin was seized and rescued from the fury of the bystanders, who would have torn him in pieces on the spot. He was speedily brought to trial, furnished with able counsel, and after due process of law was condemned to death and executed, Oct. 29.

The President died Sept. 14, and was buried at Canton, Ohio, five days later, amid impressive ceremonies.

In token of the country's grief there was an absolute stoppage of all industrial and commercial activity throughout the wide expanse of the United States while the imposing funeral cortège was passing to the tomb.

Vice-President Roosevelt, on assuming the duties of the presidency, announced his intention of following out the policy of his fallen chief. His official acts raised him and the entire country in the estimation of the world, and made it plain that henceforth the United States was to be reckoned with as one of the Great Powers.

President Roosevelt appointed William H. Hunt to be Civil Governor of Porto Rico, and P. C. Knox, Leslie M. Shaw (ex-Governor of Iowa), and Henry C. Payne to be Attorney-General, Secretary of the Treasury and Postmaster-General respectively in succession to John W. Griggs, Lyman J. Gage and Charles Emory Smith, the three Cabinet members who resigned. On the resignation of John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy, William H. Moody, of Massachusetts, was appointed to succeed him.

The President's Message, delivered in the first session of the 57th Congress, gave general satisfaction at home and abroad. It exhibited its author's sound knowledge of the country's needs, and gave forcible expression to the public feeling regarding many weighty questions.

After long negotiations the treaty for the purchase of the Danish West Indies (St. Thomas, St. John and Santa Cruz) was signed Jan. 24, 1902, by the Secretary of State and the Danish minister. The price named was $5,000,000 in gold coin, payable in 90 days. The inhabitants were allowed to preserve their Danish citizenship by a declaration to that effect within two years.

In February, the Committee on Ways and Means de-

cided on a sweeping reduction of the (extra) internal revenue taxes imposed to meet the expenses of the war with Spain. In March the first lengthy message was transmitted by wireless telegraphy from a steamer 1,500 miles out at sea.

This is the brief narrative of the development of a great Nation. It is a record of which we may well be proud, in spite of our many mistakes. Nations, like individuals, are not perfect, but the American people have learned to profit by their errors. It is not alone opportunity that has developed this country—other American Nations have had equally as good. It is because of the progressive spirit, the sense of justice, and the tireless intelligent energy of the people that we have grown so rapidly. We have helped the world solve some of its greatest problems; some of them lie before us yet, and he is a poor citizen who distrusts the future. It is true there have been many things in our history which taken by themselves make the timid fear for national safety. When our errors are placed in their proper relation to what we have done for the common good, the effect is different. We have grown to be the richest, happiest, and one of the most populous nations of Earth, and this has not come, could not have come, from a course of action based on wrong principles. Our success has been deserved, and the lack of moral earnestness and deep patriotic spirit which so many comment on, is more apparent than real. There has never come a crisis when the people have not risen to the occasion. The people grow better morally and politically all the time. Those who think otherwise have never deeply studied the Nation's history. There is in the American people strength and courage enough to

grapple with every problem that may come to them, and we may with confidence look forward to the continuous development of our moral and intellectual status of material resources, individual prosperity, and national grandeur.

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

That part of America not controlled by the United States is by far the greater in territorial extent, though less in population and influence. There were permanent settlements in nearly every other part of America before what is now the United States was first colonized, but the latter has far outstripped all its neighbors.

America now politically consists as follows:

NORTH AMERICA

	Total Population.	*Area, sq. miles.*
The United States	76,295,220	3,507,640
Mexico	14,000,000	767,005
Haiti	1,000,000	10,204
The Dominion of Canada (British)	5,125,000	3,456,383
Newfoundland and Labrador (British)	202,000	42,200
Jamaica, Antigua, Barbadoes, Dominica, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Tobago, Tortola, Trinidad, Bahamas, Bermudas, all British Island colonies, some of which are properly part of South America (British)	1,600,000	10,230
Cuba (with political status not fixed)	1,200,000	41,655
Martinique (French)	187,692	381
Guadeloupe (French)	167,000	583
St. Pierre and Miquelon off Canadian coast, (French)	6,250	93
Santa Cruz, St. John, St. Thomas (Danish)	32,786	118

CENTRAL AMERICA

	Estimated Population.	*Area, sq. miles.*
Independent Republics of—		
Guatemala	1,500,000	46,000
Honduras	400,000	43,000
Salvador	750,000	8,225
Nicaragua	380,000	49,200
Costa Rica	250,000	23,000

SOUTH AMERICA

	Estimated Population.	*Area, sq. miles.*
Independent Republics of—		
Venezuela	2,323,527	599,538
Colombia	4,000,000	504,773
Ecuador	1,270,000	248,350
Brazil	14,000,000	3,251,829
Peru	2,621,844	463,747
Bolivia	2,333,350	784,544
Paraguay	600,000	88,807
Uruguay	728,447	72,172
Argentina	4,500,000	1,125,086
Chile	3,400,000	290,828
Colonies—		
Guiana (British)	285,315	109,000
Guiana (Dutch)	63,000	46,060
Guiana (French)	22,714	in dispute
Falkland Islands (British)	1,992	6,500

While a number of European Nations have colonies in America, they are, aside from those belonging to Great Britain, small in territory and population. While the Dominion of Canada has enormous territory, its population is comparatively small, and politically it is independent in all but name and the security arising from the connection with the mother country. Canada will be dealt with more specifically in another chapter.

Practically all of America, except the United States and Canada, was settled and long ruled by Spain, with the further important exception of Brazil, which was a Portuguese dependency until the early part of this century. And, indeed, at one time Spain controlled the greater portion of what is now the territory of the United States. Yet so unfitted was she for colonial dominion that by the end of the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century, Cuba and Porto Rico alone remained of her once vast Empire, and these she lost in 1898—thus clos-

ing over four hundred years of history in the Western World, the discovery of which was due to her Sovereigns.

The history of the Spanish conquest of Mexico and Peru is full of romance and reads more like fiction than a record of fact. We have seen how the Spaniards discovered America, and have noted their earlier struggles in colonization. They will now be followed briefly. It has been noted that the mainspring of Spanish enterprise in the New World was the desire for gold. It was some years before this was found in any considerable amounts, but the fabulous stories told by the natives inspired the adventurers to search in every direction. Columbus discovered the mainland of South America in 1498, and Cabral discovered Brazil in 1500 in the interests of Portugal, but it was some twenty years before any Spanish attempt was made to settle the mainland.

In 1519 Hernando Cortés led an expedition against Mexico, where it was reported that gold abounded. His conquest of the Empire of Montezuma, with only a few hundred cavaliers, is one of the remarkable military feats in history. The Mexicans had a higher civilization than the natives in any other part of North America, and were versed in the art of war so far as the means at hand permitted. Cortés gained his victories not alone by mere force of arms. The use of horses, unknown to the natives, greatly aided him, and his rude muskets and cannon were not only efficient, but accomplished more than casualties by inspiring the natives with awe and terror. Cortés was a skilled diplomatist, and won to his aid many native tribes. The capital city, Mexico, was captured after a long campaign, and a terrible struggle at the last. Montezuma had endeavored to avert the siege by sending large gifts of gold to Cortés, which had the opposite of the desired effect, as it only

heightened his cupidity and confirmed in his mind the reports of the natives that gold existed in almost unlimited quantities. Cortés, however, was obliged to flee from the city, and the retreat was almost a rout, but on receiving reinforcements, the city once more fell into his hands, and soon he subdued the whole peninsula, extending Spanish control more or less efficiently from California to the mainland of South America.

Mexico was soon populated by Spaniards, who introduced Christianity, but few of the arts of civilization. In all instances Spain looked upon her American colonies as assets to be squeezed to the utmost limit. Education of the natives was practically forbidden, except to those taken into the colonial service. There was scarcely a printing press worthy the name in Spanish America at the beginning of this century. Few books, except religious works, were admitted, and the natives were condemned to a state almost of slavery. The tax gatherers drained the country of its resources. The gold, silver, and native ornaments went to Spain, which constantly impoverished the country. The same condition existed in all South America. While it is common for us to blame the Spaniards for their policy, it cannot be said, on the whole, that other nations did much better, with the exception of the French, who were on the best of terms with the natives. If we consider our own policy with the Indians, we have little reason to be censorious. The aboriginal American has had hard usage at the hands of Europeans. The theory that the savage has no rights which the Caucasian is bound to respect has darkened the pages of history for centuries.

The greatest mistake of Spain in her colonial policy was in not building up large Spanish settlements, which

should be closely allied with the mother country. Bad as was British policy toward her American colonies, that of Spain was infinitely worse, for she not only maintained a "closed door" policy of exclusive trade, but denied the simplest industries to her colonists and shut them off from any intellectual aspirations. Mexican wealth aroused Spanish cupidity to new exertions. Spain reveled in her new wealth, and was as prodigal as if it were indeed limitless.

The next adventurer was Pizarro, who had heard of the wonderful wealth of the Incas of Peru, where the natives had a considerable civilization and lived peaceful lives in an almost idyllic condition. In 1531 he invaded the country with about a thousand men, and after almost incredible feats of valor, conquered the natives in a little more than a year. He secured another mass of gold after inflicting barbarous cruelties on the natives equal to those of Cortés.

South America was now conceived to be one great gold field, and adventurers swarmed all along the coasts, few of whom found enough to satisfy their cupidity. The gold was shipped to Spain, but did not always reach there, as pirates infested the Spanish Main, and frigates of the enemy were always on the alert.

For three hundred years South America groaned under Spanish oppression. Even the Creoles, who were American-born Spaniards, were treated with great rigor. The Captains-General were usually brutal and looked upon their brief tenure of office only as an opportunity to get rich. The natives made little or no resistance, as they had no arms and the Spanish part of the population was long too indolent to rise against oppression. There is a remarkable difference between the way in which the colonies of North and South America looked upon the

interference of the home governments in their affairs. The Stamp Act, which so roused the North American colonists, would have been laughed at by South Americans, who were accustomed to a system of taxation that was terrible, besides being subject to constant illegal robbery on the part of officials.

The first effort to throw off the Spanish yoke was made by a descendant of one of the Incas whom Pizarro had overthrown. Tupac Amaru, of Peru, roused by the injustice done his people, led a revolt which at first was successful. The people flocked around him, a battle was fought near Cuzco in 1781, in which the natives were defeated, and Amaru with his family was captured. With characteristic brutality, Amaru and his wife were torn to pieces. The result of such barbarous acts was to arouse a desire for liberty on the part of many of the people, who secretly formed clubs for the purpose. Yet, strangely enough, independence came to the South American states by attempting to be loyal. The real history of all the Central and South American States begins with this century.

When Napoleon made Spain a vassal State he placed his brother Joseph on the throne, refusing to recognize either Charles IV, who had abdicated in favor of his son Ferdinand VII, or the latter. Charles was sorry he had abdicated, and wanted to regain his throne. It was out of this situation that Joseph became King of Spain in 1808, and the faithful executor of his brother's will.

The Spanish colonies in America were so used to the old order of things that they refused allegiance to Joseph and remained loyal to Ferdinand. As Spain was almost constantly at war for the next six years she had no time to look after her colonies, who became practically inde-

pendent, for Ferdinand exercised little control over them. It was this short period which taught South Americans the blessings of liberty and made them decide to retain it after Ferdinand had regained his throne.

The first man to open the struggle was Francisco Miranda, whose efforts to draw Hamilton into a plot to seize on Spanish America is told elsewhere in this volume. Miranda was a native of Caracas, and a remarkable if not well poised man. He had all the restlessness and ambition of Cortés and Pizarro, without the military ability of either, and yet he was a good soldier. He served in the French army that assisted Washington at the siege of Yorktown, and the impression made on his mind by the surrender was a lasting one. He well believed that if the few patriots in North America could accomplish the defeat of Great Britain, South America could certainly overthrow Spain. His dreams of liberty were given practical direction later. When the French Revolution broke out he enlisted in the patriot army, rising to the rank of Major-General. So prominent were his services that his name is among the heroes inscribed on the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. It was after his service with France that he endeavored to get both Great Britain and the United States to assist in his plan of freeing South America. Hamilton for a time looked favorably on the scheme, because it would secure all the Spanish territory west of the Mississippi to the United States, but the negotiations failed, and Miranda had to work alone. With much more enthusiasm than discretion, Miranda raised a small expedition, including a number of citizens of the United States, with money furnished largely by our citizens. In 1806 he sailed away and landed near Caracas, where he was assisted by the British Admiral and had a brief success,

though his reception was not so enthusiastic as he had anticipated. The British Admiral received a false report of peace between France and England, and withdrew his support. This ruined Miranda's enterprise, and he fled the country, while many of his followers were killed or imprisoned. Thus ended the second abortive attempt to overthrow Spanish rule.

Miranda waited four years, and took advantage of the confused situation in Spain to make one more effort for liberty. In 1810 he returned with a considerable expedition and proclaimed a republic, both in Venezuela and New Granada (now Colombia). The people flocked to his standard in fair numbers, and for two years he managed to maintain himself. Patriotic juntas were formed in all the chief cities, and an army was raised, the second place in command of which was given to Simon Bolivar. A Congress from the provinces of Venezuela was held, and independence was declared July 5, 1811. The Spanish Governor resisted feebly, and it was not until the arrival of Domingo Monteverde, a Spaniard who espoused the cause of Ferdinand, that the opposition became formidable. Nature unexpectedly came to the aid of this royal defender. On Holy Thursday, March 26, 1812, a terrible earthquake almost destroyed Caracas, 10,000 persons being killed. This was looked upon as an ill omen by the superstitious natives, who considered it a punishment from Heaven for disloyalty to the Lord's Anointed. Monteverde was quick to take advantage of the situation, and marched toward Caracas with his followers. Miranda here showed that he lacked the qualities of a great general. He became moody, could not inspirit his men, who began to desert him. He defeated Monteverde in one battle, but neglected to follow up his victory. Bolivar was defeated

and forced to flee from Puerto Cabello. The cause of the patriots soon became desperate, and Miranda surrendered on the promise that he should be allowed to go to the United States. Miranda started, and stopped on the way at La Guayra, and met Bolivar, whom he distrusted for giving up Puerto Cabello, while Bolivar looked on Miranda as a traitor for making peace with Monteverde. Outwardly Bolivar was on friendly terms with Miranda, but laid a damnable plot to capture him. Detaining him from going aboard his vessel by an invitation to supper and to spend the night, with some assistance Bolivar arrested Miranda and sent him to Monteverde, who, instead of releasing him again, sent him to Spain, where he perished in a dungeon. It is unpleasant to relate that this first falling out between patriot leaders established a precedent that has been followed far too often in the history of South and Central America, where personal ambitions and jealousies have frequently led to revolutions and disastrous consequences. The Spaniard is a curious combination of emotion and cruelty. While all members of the Latin race are sentimental and permit sentiment often to unduly dominate their conduct, the Spaniards in particular are peculiarly regardless of the sufferings of others. There has never been an execution in the United States for treason, but the name is legion of those in Spanish America who have been shot, imprisoned, or exiled on charges of treason, many of which were not genuine. It is this characteristic of the race that has interfered with the development and progress of all the Spanish American republics.

To resume the narrative, Bolivar took up the task which Miranda had conceived but not executed. Boli-

var did succeed after a series of adventures and dangers, which read more like romance than history, and in some respects have a comic opera tinge. Bolivar fled to Cartagena, in New Granada (now Colombia), and organized a patriot band. With 500 men he marched once more against Caracas and received constant accessions to his ranks. Monteverde marched out to give battle and was signally defeated. Bolivar entered Caracas August 4, 1813, in triumph, and in a year appeared to be in complete possession of Venezuela. The uncertainty of all things political in South America was soon demonstrated, for by July, 1814, the loyalists had taken Caracas once more, and Bolivar fled to New Granada again, where he made an attempt to compose matters pertaining to her internal affairs, but failed, and fled, this time to Jamaica. In 1816 he made another unsuccessful attempt to get up a revolution in Venezuela, but in 1817 he succeeded in defeating the Spaniards and establishing a republic. In 1819 he led his army across the Andes, joined the patriots in New Granada, and established a republic, which he joined to that of Venezuela, calling the combination the Republic of Colombia. In 1820 the Spaniards were finally defeated, and Bolivar, in 1821, became President of the dual republic. In 1822 Bolivar marched to Quito, in Ecuador, and drove out the Spaniards, and then passed on to Peru, where he was received with acclaim by the people struggling to free themselves. After some internal difficulties the Republic was proclaimed in 1825, with Bolivar as perpetual protector, but he was afterward sent away as being too ambitious for Peru's good.

In the meantime a revolutionary movement was in progress on the other side of the Andes. Argentina had

got tired of Spanish misrule, and set up a revolution on its own account. A manifesto was issued from Buenos Ayres, October 25, 1817, setting forth the situation, which had become unbearable, and explaining to the world the reasons for the revolution. This was after they had gained their independence. Buenos Ayres was always patriotic, while Montevideo, in Uruguay, adhered to Ferdinand. Pasadas became dictator of Argentina in 1813, and the next year captured Montevideo. In 1816 the patriot cause had advanced so far that nearly all of South America south of Brazil was claimed by the patriot party, who tried to weld it into one confederated republic, without success. Paraguay, Uruguay, and what is now Bolivia eventually became independent States, after many vicissitudes. The hero of this movement was José San Martin, who, like Bolivar, had met Miranda abroad and had imbibed love of liberty from him. In 1810 San Martin, in command of the army, started to cross the Andes in aid of Chile and Peru, but it was four years before he was able to get over the mountains, and then it took him four more years to accomplish what he sought. Crossing the Andes, a more difficult feat than Hannibal's or Napoleon's in crossing the Alps, San Martin fell on the Spanish army and defeated it in several battles, and in 1818 actual independence was won for Chile, whose chief leader was General O'Higgins. San Martin now marched on Peru, where General Sucre, who had liberated Ecuador, was carrying on the contest. On the arrival of Bolivar, San Martin magnanimously retired from command and from public life. In 1824 Bolivar completed his task, and Spain was driven from South America. Bolivar was now hailed as the deliverer of South America, and, loaded with honors, yet so great was the jealousy of him that

he was declared to be too ambitious, even by Venezuela, whereupon he resigned in 1830, went into exile, and died the same year.

Brazil remained a dependency of Portugal until 1807, when it actually became the refuge of the royal family during the Napoleonic days. In 1822 Brazil became an independent Empire under Dom Pedro I, who finally abdicated in favor of his infant son, Dom Pedro II, one of the kindliest of monarchs, who reigned until 1889, when he was summarily deposed by the people and a republic declared. A revolution was soon attempted by the naval officers and a few cities, but it was put down, and the Republic has had quiet ever since and is constantly increasing in prosperity.

Mexico's history is the same as that of the other Spanish Republics. The first two revolutions, in 1810 and 1811, were led by priests; both failed and the leaders were executed. Independence was gained under Iturbide in 1821, and he was made Emperor after offering the crown to a Spanish Prince. In 1822 Santa Anna raised the standard of revolt at Vera Cruz, and for thirty-five years that gallant one-legged man was either at the head of affairs in Mexico as president or dictator, or else he was in exile. Indeed, it makes the brain reel to read of the constant revolutions and counter-revolutions which reduced the country almost to a state of anarchy. No wonder that Texas easily gained independence, or that the resistance to American arms proved fruitless. The cession of California and New Mexico along with Texas deprived Mexico of about one-half her territory. In 1861 Juarez became dictator, and radical measures were taken. Church property was confiscated, and Church and State absolutely divorced. And now Great Britain, France, and Spain put in enormous claims for

losses by their subjects. France was now ruled by Napoleon III, who had dreams of empire and chose the moment when the United States was plunged in civil war to send an army which soon captured the country and placed Maximilian, a well meaning young Austrian Prince, on the throne as Emperor. He was never secure, and at the end of the American Civil War, the French were informed by the United States that their presence was opposed to the Monroe Doctrine. The hint was taken, the army withdrawn, and Maximilian abandoned to his fate. Juarez once more came into power, Maximilian was shot, and after ten years of disquiet, Porfirio Diaz became President and served most of the time up to 1899. He put Mexico on a footing no other man has done. Although nominally President, he is actual Dictator, a power he uses so wisely that Mexico has made tremendous strides recently and has cultivated the warmest relations with the United States.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Central America, which is subject to earthquake, has had its share of political troubles. The five States revolted against Spain about the time that Venezuela became free, but it was long ere Spain actually acknowledged their sovereignty, though she never actually exercised authority there after 1821, In 1823 a federation of the Republics of Nicaragua, Honduras, Salvador, Costa Rica, and Guatemala was formed, which lasted ten years, most of which were given up to civil war, as there were in that time some four hundred Presidents or Dictators or persons claiming to be such. After 1833 the republics became independent, but tried a federation again in 1898, which lasted but a few months. In 1856 William Walker, whose varied career is full of interest,

was driven out of Nicaragua after once being established in power. He returned, but after varying successes, was shot in 1860. His efforts were directed toward annexation to the United States. In 1850 the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was signed between the United States and Great Britain, by which it was agreed that if a canal was built across Nicaragua it should be under the joint control of the two Nations, and be neutral, while Great Britain was to give up sovereignty over the Mosquito Coast to Nicaragua. This latter provision was never fully carried out, nor has the canal been constructed. There are conflicting claims as to who is entitled to construct it, and President McKinley was authorized to appoint a commission in 1899 to investigate the subject and report to Congress.

The history of all the Central American States is practically the same, except that Costa Rica has enjoyed more repose than the others. The population of the Republics is small, industries undeveloped, while culture and education are not general. The frequent revolutions have greatly injured the progress of the people, but in recent years there is a tendency toward stability that has shown beneficial results.

From the expulsion of Spanish power in South America to the present time the various Republics have generally prospered except when civil wars have arisen. It would take a volume to even briefly enumerate the internal struggles of these Republics, but while they have retarded progress they were in no case so important, even relatively, as the Civil War in the United States. Some of these wars were mere farces, and many successful revolutions were accomplished almost without bloodshed. These revolutions were sometimes directed against usurpations of power, but generally to further the ambi-

tions of some would-be dictator. Argentina has had comparative repose in recent years, and has succeeded in developing her enormous resources to a very considerable extent. Originally Argentina included all south of Brazil and east of the Andes, but there were numerous revolutions and civil wars which vexed the whole country. Uruguay and Paraguay became independent, and finally Argentina gained repose about the middle of the century. Her railway system is the best in South America, stretching across the Andes. Buenos Ayres is one of the most beautiful of modern cities. Indeed, all the capitals of South America are fine cities, except as they have been injured during revolutions. While among the masses there is little education or culture, in the cities will be found many men and women of the highest culture and refinement.

Peru has had probably the most difficult experience of the group. Starting out with the usual difficulties of having too many ambitious statesmen, tranquillity was restored by 1844, and peace lasted ten years, during which the Nation grew rapidly, only to excite the cupidity of Chile. Peru and Bolivia had always been closely allied, but Chile made an issue of a treaty between them on the ground that it was inimical to herself (Chile). This was a pure blind. War began in 1879, and in two years Peru was at the mercy of the invaders. Peace was made in 1883, by which Chile got her desired territory. Peru has recovered slowly from this war. Bolivia has suffered from internal disorders and has lost much of her territory.

Chile first secured independence by the aid of San Martin and his army from Argentina. Then she went to the aid of Peru, and succeeded in driving the Spaniards from Peru. General O'Higgins was the first dic-

tator, and for many years there was no stable government, but since 1833 the progress of the country has been almost constant. There were a number of revolutions, but none so important as elsewhere. The war with Peru increased her territory. During the administration of President Harrison of the United States a formidable revolution took place, which succeeded. In accordance with our usual policy, we always recognize the de facto government. For attempting to prevent a filibustering expedition the United States and Chile almost got into a war. When the American Minister gave asylum to members of the party that had been overthrown, the feeling was so bitter that when some American sailors went ashore at Valparaiso they were attacked and two killed. Chile refused to take cognizance of the fact, and President Harrison prepared for war, whereupon Chile apologized and paid an indemnity.

The first attempt at South American federation was at the Panama Congress in 1826. It failed, and, in spite of all efforts, has never since been seriously attempted. The most importat meeting was the Pan-American Congress, held in Washington under the presidency of James G. Blaine, during Harrison's administration. The Congress failed to accomplish all that was hoped for, but it did much toward bringing about a better understanding between the Republics. The attempt to substitute arbitration for war was not a complete success. While the proposed Pan-American railroad is yet a dream, preliminary surveys have been made which show the idea to be feasible though costly.

One result of this better understanding was shown in 1895, when Venezuela appealed to the United States to prevent Great Britain from forcibly seizing disputed territory. President Cleveland made this quarrel an

issue, and in language admitting of no doubt as to an ultimatum, demanded that the subject be arbitrated. To this Great Britain finally acceded, but the decision is not yet (March, 1899) rendered.

Trade relations between North and South America have been very much hampered owing to the lack of banking facilities and steamship lines. Most of the foreign trade of South America is with Europe, goods for or from United States often going that way. American merchants and manufacturers have endeavored to get the Congress of the United States to charter an international bank and subsidize steamship lines, but without success. For this reason the connection between North and South America is not so close as it should be, though there is reason to believe a better condition will soon be established.

In spite of all their political troubles the Spanish-American Republics have made progress. The people are generally impulsive, and the educated classes are as intelligent as any people in the world. In the last ten years more progress has been made than even before in such a period, and the outlook for a long and prosperous career in South America is most auspicious.

CANADA

Canada as a geographical expression includes all of British North America. The Dominion of Canada politically includes all but Newfoundland and a portion of Labrador. The earliest discoveries in Canada have already been related in another part of this volume. The country was first visited by the Cabots. Jacques Cartier explored the St. Lawrence River to the city of Montreal in 1534, and the first permanent French settlement in what was formerly called Canada, was made by Champlain in 1608 at Quebec, but before, in 1604, a settlement had been made at Port Royal, Nova Scotia. Champlain, who is looked upon as the real father of Canada, was a man of great abilities and remarkable character. He explored Lakes Ontario and Huron and the one that bears his name, and was for thirty years Governor of Canada. In distinction from the manner in which the Spaniards treated the natives, Champlain showed them great kindness, and they were ever warm friends of the French, with the exception of the Iroquois, who were at perpetual war with the Algonquins. The early period of Canadian history is filled with romances and adventure, narratives of which have filled many volumes. Some of the most intrepid explorers were priests like Marquette, or men of education like Joliet, who were paddled up the lakes by Indians as far as Green Bay, Wis., then up the Fox River to a portage, and down the Wisconsin River to the Mississippi. Marquette and Joliet went down the river past the mouth of the Ohio, and then worked slowly back to Montreal once more. This

was in 1673. In 1678 Robert de Lasalle set out to complete the work of discovery. He sailed around to the head of Lake Michigan, and then went overland to the Mississippi, and finally went down that river to its mouth. The French laid claim to the whole of the Mississippi basin on the basis of these and other discoveries, and, as we have already seen, established forts throughout the territory. Very few important French settlements, however, were actually made, and the French explorers virtually brought little good to their King. They did, however, establish friendly relations with the Western Indians, and the fur trade was rapidly developed. There were several wars with the colonies, as described in the first period of United States History in this book.

When, in 1756, Great Britain declared war against France, it was seen that there would be a struggle between the French and British colonies in America. Both prepared for the war. The British sent over General Braddock, and the French sent over Montcalm. The latter was by far the abler General, and in fact was one of the remarkable men of any age. He carried on a warfare that was terrible in its results, and not according to modern ideas, but it was successful. For several years the contest seemed to be in favor of the French. Frontenac, the Governor, was a man of great ability, and conducted affairs with success till Great Britain was roused to more vigorous action. It is due to William Pitt that the struggle was taken up and carried on vigorously. Canada was invaded with a large army of British colonists, and in 1759 Quebec fell. Montcalm and General Wolfe, the British General, both perished in the battle on the Plains of Abraham. This practically ended the war, and when peace was made between France and Great Britain, Canada was ceded to the British. The

French population at this time did not exceed 60,000, and was scattered over a wide territory. The English system of government was entirely different from that of the French, and for a time there was friction, until the French laws and customs were restored to that part of the population. Englishmen began to come in and settle the country, and the fur trade was rapidly developed. At the time the Thirteen Colonies revolted against Great Britain an effort was made to get the Canadians to join. This was entirely unsuccessful. The Canadians did not understand liberal government, did not seem to want it, and remained loyal to the King throughout the struggle, although Montreal was at one time taken and Quebec was unsuccessfully attacked.

Owing to the fact that the St. Lawrence River remains frozen during the winter months, and to the extreme rigors of the climate, Canada received a small proportion of the immigrants from the Old World to the New. Thus the population increased slowly, but received large accessions after and during the Revolutionary War, when many Tories were either expelled from the United States or left on their own accord.

During the second war with Great Britain Canada also suffered considerably. It had been the intention of the United States to capture the whole territory, but so feeble were the military forces and so incompetent most of the officers that little damage was done, except along the Niagara frontier. For many years politically what we now call Canada consisted of Upper and Lower Canada, and the independent provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. At the beginning of this century there were perhaps 200,000 people in the two Canadas, of which about 60,000 were British in Upper Canada. There were constant conten-

tions between the two Canadas owing to the fact that the ports of Quebec and Montreal were both in Lower Canada, and controlled the exports and imports, collecting all the customs revenues, and disputes arose over the proper division. The result was that in 1841 a legislative union was formed between the two provinces and an attempt made to settle the differences. Not, however, with complete success. The greater portion of the settlers in Upper Canada were British, and here the soil was best, and eventually that portion became very prosperous. Lower Canada, whose population was largely French, did indeed have the ports, but the soil was far inferior for agricultural purposes. The differences were those of race, language, and religion, and the contests at times became exceedingly bitter. As a result what is known as the British-North American Act of 1867 was passed, by which the Dominion of Canada was established and permission given to all the provinces to federate. All the provinces joined the Dominion with the single exception of Newfoundland. The Dominion is practically a Republic. While it is true there is a Governor-General appointed by the Crown, and while the Canadians have all the rights, privileges, and immunities of British citizens, and have the full protection of the British Government, they are, so far as their own affairs are concerned, entirely independent, the only restriction being that their Constitution must be "similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom." The federation of Dominion provinces is very similar to that of the United States. Each province makes its own local laws, has its own local Legislature, while a Parliament of the whole meets at Ottawa. Parliament consists of a House of Commons and a Senate. The Commons are elected by the people, but there are slight restrictions on the fran-

chise. According to the bill passed in 1892 there are 213 members—92 for Ontario, 65 for Quebec, 20 for Nova Scotia, 14 for New Brunswick, 7 for Manitoba, 6 for British Columbia, 5 for Prince Edward Island, and 4 for the Northwest Territories. The Senate consists of 81 members, nominated for life by the Governor-General. At present there are 24 from Ontario, 24 from Quebec, 10 from Nova Scotia, 10 from New Brunswick, 4 from Manitoba, 3 from British Columbia, 4 from Prince Edward Island, and 2 from the territories. The nominal head of the Government is the Governor-General, but the actual Government is carried on by the Premier and his Privy Council, who are members of and responsible to the House of Commons.

For many years there were disputes between the United States and Canada over boundaries which have not yet been entirely settled. The dispute over the Maine boundary line sometimes gave rise to local collisions, and were finally settled after repeated conferences. The Northwest boundary was still more difficult. What was then known as the Oregon country was claimed both by the United States on the basis of discovery and by Great Britain on the basis of discovery and actual occupation by the Hudson's Bay Company. The United States laid claim to the latitude of 54 degrees and 40 minutes, while the British laid claim to all the territory drained by the Columbia. As a compromise, the 49th parallel was established as the true boundary. When Alaska was purchased from Russia by the United States the boundaries were tolerably well defined on paper, but when the land itself was explored it was found to be very difficult to decide just what the boundary should be, and this subject is not yet settled. Owing to the discoveries of gold in the Klondike region the question of boundaries

is an important one, and has already given rise to local disturbances.

The Hudson's Bay Company, under its charter, owned not only the monopoly of the fur trade in the Northwest, but a large portion of the soil. This was finally purchased in 1869 by the Dominion, and a number of provinces have been erected out of it.

A constant source of friction between Canada and the United States had been the question of fishing off the Grand Banks and around Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The earliest American industry was fishing in this neighborhood, vessels coming from France and Portugal, and the French have never abandoned the neighborhood, much to the distress of the people of Newfoundland. The right to catch fish in the deep sea is, of course, undisputed. The trouble has come from the desire on the part of foreign fishermen to land and cure their fish on Canadian soil. The right of Americans to fish as formerly was given in the Treaty of Paris, which closed the Revolutionary War. This was partially confirmed by the Treaty of Ghent, and the whole subject was taken up again by the Treaty of Washington in 1871. Canada claimed that the United States had over-stepped her right in the fisheries, and laid claim for heavy damages at the very time that we laid claim against Great Britain for damages on account of the Confederate cruisers. Both disputes were submitted to arbitration, and both the United States and Canada got verdicts. An arrangement was made for continuing the fisheries, which either country could stop upon giving due notice. The United States did give such notice, and the fisheries are conducted under a sort of temporary arrangement, extended from year to year. In 1854 a treaty between the United States and

Canada, providing for reciprocal trade, was entered into. This was abrogated in 1866. After the consolidation of the Dominion, Canada immediately became more prosperous than ever before, though she has constantly suffered from the rivalry and competition of the United States. A large portion of the French population have drifted into New England, where they work in the mills and factories, while many from the province of Ontario have emigrated to the United States in view of the wider opportunities presumed to be present there. The fathers of the Confederation were Sir John A. Macdonald, who worked long and zealously to accomplish it, and Sir Étienne Cartier, leader of the French Federals. Sir John Macdonald was long Prime Minister of the Dominion, and to his energy many of the great undertakings of Canada are due, though he was charged with official corruption. As the western part of the United States filled up with farmers it was soon found that the Northwest Territory must practically become tributary to the United States unless direct communication with the East could be established. To accomplish this the Canadian Pacific Railway was undertaken. In 1881 the work was started and it was finished in five years at a cost of $150,000,000, about one-half of which was paid by the Canadian Government. This road, running from ocean to ocean, has with its tributary lines 6,174 miles of track, there being over 16,000 miles in the Dominion altogether. The construction of this railway has developed the Northwestern portion of the country very considerably. Manitoba is a thriving province, and Winnipeg, the commercial metropolis of that section, is a prosperous city, although it suffered from a too hardly worked boom before the completion of the railway. The increase in population has not, however, kept pace with that of the United States, and while the railway has done

much for the Dominion there are numerous stretches of land utterly unoccupied. While political dissensions have characterized Canadian politics from the first, there has been but one serious domestic disturbance of the peace under the British rule.

After the purchase of the Northwest Territory from the Hudson's Bay Company and the erection of new provinces therein, friction was caused by the disturbance of former laws and customs in extending the laws of the Dominion over them. In Manitoba and vicinity there were a great many halfbreed French and Indians, most of whom had been in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. When the local government was organized it came into friction with these halfbreeds on account of changes which to the halfbreeds seemed vital. In 1885 a revolt was organized by Louis Riel, who established a Provisional Government and for a time held his own. It was impossible for such a movement to succeed, and the Canadian militia easily put down the rebellion and Riel was hanged. The hanging of Riel was bitterly resented by the French Canadians, and tended to increase the friction between the two races of Canada, which continues more or less to the present, but the recent election of Wilfrid Laurier as Premier has done much to restore good feeling.

When the United States bought Alaska from Russia it supposed it was getting control of the seal industry, and for many years monopoly was maintained. When finally the Canadian sealers began to kill seals the United States objected and captured a number of vessels engaged in the work. This led to diplomatic negotiations, which finally resulted in the United States paying damages for suppressing the Canadian sealers. Although there had been frequent conferences and many

treaties made respecting points in dispute between the United States and Canada, there were in 1898 many questions undecided. An effort was made to settle all these by a Joint High Commission, representing both countries, which was expected to draft a treaty that would settle every question in dispute. This commission met in 1898 in Canada under the presidency of Baron Herschell, Lord High Chancellor, and after numerous conferences adjourned in the fall to Washington, where sessions were maintained up to the first of March, and adjournment taken until the following summer. The questions at issue included the fisheries, the seal fisheries, the Alaskan boundary, and reciprocal trade. The last matter was by far the most important. Lying along the northern border of the United States for its entire length, it is but natural that Canada should desire the best possible trade relations with the United States. The policy of protection has prevented any such plan of reciprocity being put into force, for the lumber and agricultural industries, as well as coal, are especially directed against Canadian competition. In order to offset the American tariff the Canadian Parliament passed a tariff law by which imports from Great Britain were given a large reduction over those from the United States in the hope that this would induce the United States to make concessions of mutual advantage. In the sessions of the Joint High Commission, both in Canada and in Washington, this matter was strongly urged, but upon adjournment no decision had been made. The chief representative of the United States was Mr. Nelson Dingley, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, who had himself framed the Tariff Bill of 1897. It could scarcely be expected that he would look favorably upon reducing those tariff schedules, which

had been levied solely and deliberately against that trade which Canada decided to reëstablish. Mr. Dingley died before the Washington session was closed, as did Lord Herschell also. When adjournment was taken there was not a very hopeful feeling that any arrangement would be arrived at, although it was positively stated that there was still a chance for making an accommodation.

For many years it had been known that there was gold in the Yukon River Valley, but the region was so inaccessible that it was with great difficulty miners could reach the spot. The summers were brief and hot, the winters were long and cold, and there was almost no opportunity to secure the necessities of life in the region. For this reason there were few miners in that section until the summer of 1897. The world was electrified early in the summer of that year by the announcement of the most extraordinary discoveries of gold fields throughout the Yukon Valley, most of which were situated in Canadian territory. At once there was a rush to this section in spite of the expense and terrible difficulties in the way of arriving there. The Yukon River is open a short time each year to navigation by light draft vessels, but by far the greater number of gold-seekers went by the Skaguay, Alaska, route. It was impossible to secure transportation of any kind, and all the immigrants were obliged to climb the mountain passes and walk to the headwaters of the Yukon, where crude boats were constructed, which floated the argonauts down to the gold-bearing region. As is usual in such cases, the stories of wealth were greatly exaggerated, or at least the possibilities for securing it were, although everyone knew who paid any attention to the subject, that it would be expensive and dangerous to undertake the trip. Nearly 40,000 persons undertook to go there. Many

who reached Dawson City, the commercial center of the country, found absolutely nothing to do. Provisions were scarce and very expensive, so that it was almost impossible to secure them. Claims were quickly taken up in all regions where gold was supposed to exist, but were exceedingly difficult to work. The method of operating is this: During the winter season the miner thaws out the dirt as best he can, and accumulates a pile of the gold-bearing earth. In the summer time he washes this out by the use of a pan. This method was slow, and seldom highly productive. It was soon discovered that the development of the gold mines could only come by the expenditure of large sums of money. There was great suffering during the winter of 1897-8 in the Klondike region, and in the spring many returned home poorer than they went. That there is an immense region bearing gold is undoubted, but it will require systematic effort and most scientific treatment to produce the best results. The output for 1898 is estimated at $15,000,000.

The present Ministry (1899) of Canada came into power in 1896, overthrowing the Conservative Government of Sir Charles Tupper. It is a significant fact that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Premier, who is a Frenchman and a Catholic, carried the country in opposition to the Catholic priesthood, who backed the Conservative candidates and commanded their members to vote against Mr. Laurier and his party. In spite of this Mr. Laurier received a large majority. The principal question at issue was the one of establishing Catholic schools in Manitoba. Under the fundamental law separate schools may be demanded for Protestants and Catholics. Considering the expense too great, Manitoba abandoned the schools for Catholics. The Conservative adminis-

tration of Sir Charles Tupper tried to coerce Manitoba into restoring these schools, and on this issue the campaign was made and lost by the Conservatives. In 1898 a plebiscite was taken on the question of the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors in the Dominion. Although a majority of those voting were in favor of prohibition, the total vote was so small that the Liberal Government declined to make prohibition a Government issue.

Newfoundland, which has never entered the Dominion, has had a troublous career. When the French left Canada they retained certain riparian fishing rights along the west coast of Newfoundland, with the right to erect sheds for curing fish, etc. In comparatively recent years the French established lobster fishing, and erected factories along the shore to cure these, and British fishermen did the same. At once a dispute arose as to whether a lobster could be properly called a fish, and whether the Frenchmen could build factories for curing them under the treaty. The question has never been decided, but the lobster canning industry has not been allowed to expand pending the decision.

The population of Newfoundland is about 200,000, and the debt about $13,000,000. This debt has become a heavy burden, and at this time (1899) measures are being taken to improve the commerce of the colony which has suffered severely from hard times.

The population of Canada at the beginning of the century was estimated at about 240,000. In 1851 it was 1,850,000, and in 1896 was estimated at 5,125,000. Ontario has the largest population, but the density of the population is greatest in Prince Edward Island. The largest city, Montreal, had a population in 1891

of 216,650; Toronto had 182,000, and Quebec 63,000. Of the total population about forty per cent are Catholics. The public debt of Canada was largely created for public works, including the Canadian Pacific Railroad. In 1897 it amounted to $262,000,000 net. For the year ending June 30, 1897, the revenue was $37,829,778, and the expenditure was $38,349,760. Over half the revenue is derived from customs duties. Canada has excellent banking laws, and in 1896 had thirty-seven incorporated banks, each with many branches, with a paid up capital of $62,000,000; circulation of $32,000,000, and deposits of $193,000,000, the liabilities amounting to $247,000,000, and the assets to $335,000,000.

In recent years there has been a movement in Canada of more or less proportion looking toward annexation to the United States. There has never been any attempt to discover how large this movement is, and it has never been officially broached in any way. While there is a great deal of justifiable local pride in the Dominion, and while the attachment to the mother country is very great, there are many of the people who plainly see that Canada must always suffer from the competition of the United States so long as the present tariff barrier exists. It is a question whether absolute reciprocal trade can ever be established between the two countries, and it is possible in the future that annexation may result. Such a movement, however, would have to be voluntary on the part of Canada, and overwhelming in sentiment, and is hardly to be expected for some time at least. It is, however, very desirable that the most friendly relations continue to exist between the two countries, and in view of the renewed

friendly feeling between Great Britain and the United States, manifested so strongly during the Spanish War, it is possible that there may grow a condition which will preserve the interests of both the United States and Canada, and yet work to their mutual advantage.